HISTORY OF KUMAUN

(English version of '*Kumaun Ka Itihas*' by Badri Datt Pande)

[VOL. - ONE]

Translator
C.M. Agrawal, Ph.D., D. Litt.
Department of History, Kumaun University
Campus, Almora

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Preface

In the course of successive visits in 1988 and 1989 to U.S.A. and France I came to know there about the people's unquenchable thirst and hunger to know about Kumaun Himalayas exhaustively. But there is no book covering the entire subject in all its aspects-social, economic, administrative, religious, political-in a single volume except the *Kurmanchal Kesari* Badri Datt Pande's book : *Kumaun ka Itihas*. This work, no doubt, 'a mine of information on Kumaun', is not very useful for the foreigners as it is written in Hindi. I felt a strong need to get it translated into English so that it might be accessible to the foreigners as well as to the people of the non-Hindi speaking belt of India.

Sri Vinod Prasad Agrawal, the publisher of Sri Badri Datt Pande's book *Kumaun ka Itihas* accepted my suggestion and asked me to prepare the English version of the above book. It was really a difficult, monotonous and tiresome job to translate such a voluminous book like *Kumaun ka Itihas*, but my keen interest in the subject sustained me through and gave me strength and courage to complete this project with devotion.

The book in its translated form is the same but to make it more useful to the students and scholars as well as general readers a detailed index and some relevant photographs (deleting the old ones) have also been incorporated in it. Being a student of history, I have made some minor changes while translating the book to make it more accurate, useful and relevant and have also tried to use simple language as far as possible.

In the preparation of the translation I received much help from my father Professor R.M. Das, Ph.D., D.Litt. at different stages. I must acknowledge my heartfelt gratefulness to him who has so generously gone through the whole manuscript and made change and corrections where necessary. I must admit that without his help the work could not have been completed.

My grateful thanks are also due to Sri Jagdishwari Joshi, M.A.

LL.B., Retd. Principal, for helping me in translating few typical portions full with Kumauni words. I must confess that but for his co-operation, I would have to face a great deal of difficulty.

My thanks also due to my friend Dr. C.L. Sharma, Head of Dept. of Political Science, Kumaun University Campus, Almora for his help and encouragement.

Finally, I would be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge my thanks to my wife, Shivani, M.Sc., Ph.D. whose help proved fruitful in completing this work.

I am thankful to Sri Vinod Prasad Agrawal, proprietor, Shree Almora Book Depot for the timely publication of this work and also to the proprietor and staff of the D.K. Fine Art Press for its neat and clean printing.

Jakhandevi, C.M. AGRAWAL
Almora

A Word

On the request of a number of revered intellectuals and friendly readers the present new edition of this book is being published. For the publication of this work, from time to time, suggestions are being received. Some credulous persons wanted that only its revised edition should be published and the chapters on modern social progress and cultural development be added to it. By doing so the edition could have been more useful, but it was doubtful to complete such a project. Need was felt for that historical work in which the writer had collected and presented all the then information in respect of Kurmachal. Writers and researchers of later date have also given sufficient material and almost all the contemporary writers have accepted this work in Hindi, as the base book.

In Uttarakhand some political and social currents of thought (Ideologies) and recognition are taking new direction. At such a moment for the political prospects and aspirations of a region, its historical basis is desirable. If the present edition provides right guidance to the new generation then those ideals shall be achieved for which our past has been struggling. The book is being published under its original name though now it would have been proper to call it, '*Ancient History of Kurmachal*'.

Long-awaited publication of this work in its original form could be possible by the untiring efforts of Shree Vinod Prasad Agrawal, Proprietor, Shyam Prakashan, Shree Almora Book Depot ; so I am grateful to him.

SHAKTI PRASAD PANDE

Prem Kuti
Almora

work in one volume, it could not be completed even in seven volumes. I have here presented a short outline of the history of Kurmachal. I could simply initiate the work as my knowledge and learning are limited. In fact this work should have been undertaken by scholars more qualified and intelligent than me. I dared take up this work simply because it did not receive due attention of the people of our region. Great scholars and virtuous men have raised the glory of this country but they had least interest in historical literature and art. Some people told that this region has no ancient history worth writing. They say that the history of Kumaun is nothing but the story of feuds and mutual wars between Doti and Kumaun and Kumaun and Garhwal. We have glimpses of mutual enmity and bloodshed between Maharas and Fartyals of Kurmachal *i.e.* the tragedy of extracting eyes and bloodshed at Balighat, or it is a mine of such boastful caste pride such as 'we are great and they are petty' or it is the proclamation of the greatness of such gods as Syuriya, Puriya, Ganganath, Bholanath, Aidi, etc. There is no use of highlighting these points further.

There is no country the history of which has no glimpses of such things as killings, political intrigues, pride and prejudice and the desire of the victor to crush the pride of the enemy. The history of almost all the regions of India is full of brilliance as well as darkness. Similarly in the history of Kumaun also bright and interesting facts can be seen at some, places and at some pictures of inhuman atrocities and treason are to be seen.

My main aim in writing this history is simply that the youth of Kumaun might get help in knowing the nature of the ancient period of their region and also the reforms to be initiated in future to merge the whole of Kurmachal in the ocean of Indian nationalism-things to be introduced and the customs to be prohibited. For nationalism existence of one language, one dress, media and one religion throughout the country is a must.

But in a country like India where the people are divided into various groups, castes and sects only a first–rate nation-builder can establish nationalism. It is essential for a social reformer and a nation-builder to know all the customs, usages and ceremonies of his country or region. He should also be acquainted with the ideas of the people regarding caste and creed, and also with their faith in

gods, goddesses and ghosts and goblins and then assess from whence to begin the reform.

It is not the function of the reformer and the nation-builder to copy other country, rather he should try to present the good and remove the evil. From this very point of view this book has been written.

It is our aim to make our people who are plunged in ignorance, darkness of illusion, and a number of superstitions, self respecting, self reliant and able to take independent decisions. My sole desire is that our region also should be an expert swimmer in the ocean of Indian Nationalism and the various castes should merge in one nation.

Despite my sincere efforts, many faults may have crept in this book and they will be detected by our affectionate readers. As I have already said, I have no ability of a true historian, so I have here simply collected the material about Kumaun I culled from several books. The job of a researcher is quite difficult. In the West research, criticism and the literary art are honoured. In India this art has not attained that height. The human nature has not become so generous and cultured that it might rightly appreciate the importance of thorough criticism and original literary research. There is no doubt that a more learned and scholarly writer than myself would have presented a better book to the readers. By writing this book I have, as it were, given them a challenge to prepare a good book.

The list of the books which have been consulted has been given here. I am greatly thankful to the writers of those books, specially to Mr. Atkinson who has earnestly carried on his research on Kurmachal.

In the present work Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid Mahamahopadeshak, Sanatan Dharm Maha Mandal has greatly helped me and Babu Ganga Prashad Khatri supplied a number of old books ; so I am indebted to them.

To national leader honourable Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant I am greatly thankful who very kindly went through some portions of this book, invited my attention to some of the parts and advised me to correct them. Now the errors that still exist in this book are mine, I

am responsible for them. Still I say that I have written this book for the benefit of our country, nation and society and as far as possible it has been based on facts.

I am thankful to Thakur Devi Singh Kunwar and Pt. Tara Datt Upreti who respectively helped me in picture collection and correcting the proofs.

All the older material collected here, is based on Atkinson's *Gazetteer* or a copy of the manuscript written by Pt. Rudra Datt Pant and on some other old documents. While the Atkinson's *Gazetteers* was being prepared, Pt. Rudra Datt Pant carried on the work of historical research in the whole of Kumaun. He has gathered old facts from Raja Nand Singh, Pt. Harshdeo Joshi and from other people of the older generation. I called for old literature from many persons but got negative answers from them.

This country be educated, cultured and prosperous and the people be dutiful, lovers of freedom and have a keen desire for the progress of the country ; with these well-wishes, I am dedicating this book to the whole country, society and the nationalists.

Prem Kuti
Almora

BADRI DATT PANDE

Content

"उदीचीदीपयन्नेष दिशं तिष्ठतिवीयवान्।
महां मेरुर्महाभाग शिवो ब्रहमविदां गतिः ।।१२।।
यस्मिन् ब्रहम सदश्चैव भूतात्माचाव तिष्ठते।
प्रजापतिः सृजन् सर्व यत्किंचिज्जंगमागमम्।।१३।।
यानाहुब्रह्मणाः पुत्रान मानसान् दक्ष सप्तमान्।
तेशामपि महामेरुः शिवं स्थान मनामयम्।।१४।।
अत्रैव प्रतितिष्ठन्ति पुनरेवोदयन्ति च।
सप्तदेवर्षगनस्तान वशिष्ठ प्रमुखास्तदा।।१५।।
देशं विरज संपश्य मेरोः शिखरमुत्तमम्।
यत्रात्म तृप्तैरध्वास्ते देवैः सह पितामहः ।।१६।।
यमाहुः सर्व भूतानां प्रकृतेः प्रकृति ध्रुवाम्।
अनादिनिधनं देवं प्रभुं नारायणं परम्।।१७।।
ब्रह्मणः सदनात्तस्य परंस्थानं प्रकाशते।
देवोपि यन्न पश्यन्ति सर्व तेजो मयं शुभम्।।१८।।
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तत्रगत्वा पुनर्नमं लोकमायान्ति भारत।
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स्थान मेतन्महाभाग ध्रुवमक्षयमव्ययम्।
ईश्वरस्य सदाह्येतन प्रणमात्र युधिष्ठिर।।२६।।"

HISTORY OF KUMAUN

O excellent one ! the highly radiant and auspicious mount Mahameru illuminating the north stands here. Only the knowers of Brahma have access here. On it exists the seat of Brahma where Prajapati, the soul and the creator of all the movable and unmovable beings, always resides. This Mahameru is the disease and sorrow–free and pleasant residence of all the Prajapatis who are said to be mind-born sons of Brahma, and among whom Dakshprajapati occupies the seventh place. O beloved one ! It is here that Vasistha etc. the seven divine sages disappear and reappear. O Yudhisthir ! look at the elevated summit of Meru, it is a place free from *rajas*; there Pitamah Brahma resides along with self-satisfied gods. This elevated place of all powerful and great Narayan, who is called the imperishable source of the five elements of Nature and who is without beginning and end, is shining above the region of even Brahma. Even gods cannot see him who is full of brilliance and is auspicious. The place of Lord Vishnu is more lustrous than the sun and the fire and shines by its own lustre. Even the gods and the Meru itself is located in the residing place of Narayan, where he, the self-born and the creator and Lord of all, illuminating all beings by his lustre, resides. Only the persevering and high–souled can reach it, even Brahmarshis and Maharshis have no access to that place. All the shining things lose their lustre before Him, only the incomprehensible lord himself resides there. Only the self-controlled by means of their devotion can reach there. Only such high–souled ones as are endowed with great penance, have been purified by auspicious acts, have got efficiency in *yoga* and are free from all ignorance and infatuation, go there not to return to this world, but to merge themselves with that self-born, imperishable and the highest God. The residence of the God is imperishable, permanent and eternal, so O Yudhisthir ! salute it.

History of Kumaun

PART ONE

Geographical and Historical Description

1 How Was The Region Named Kumaun or Kurmachal

Regarding the name of this region as Kurmachal or Kumaun, a hearsay is prevalent among the people of Kumaun that Tortoise, the second incarnation of Lord Vishnu, stood for three years on the Kurma-mountain (now called Kandadeva or Kandeva) east of river Champavati and gods such as Haha and Huhu and great seers like Narad etc. praised him. Marks of the feet of the Tortoise imprinted on the stone are said to exist even now. Since then this mountain came to be known as Kurmachala (*Kurma* + *achala*) which through the process of deterioration became Kumu and in dialect got metamorphosed into Kumaun. At first this name was given to Champavat and to its adjoining villages but later on it was applied to the whole *pargana* of Kali Kumaun comprising the regions of Chalasi, Gumdesh, Regadu, Gangoli and Khilphati, on the bank of river Kali and also to the adjoining *pattis* of Dhyanirau. When the kingdom of the Chands increased in size, the whole region now included in the district of Almora and Nainital came to be called Kurmachal or Kumaun. While during the English rule the district of Dehradun also was included in commissinership Kumaun and presently Garhwal is also included in it. But actually Kumaun denotes only that region which comprises the hilly districts of Almora and Nainital. At present Gangoli and Chaugarkha are also included in Kali Kumaun but the people of Gangoli and Chaugarkha are not called Kumaunis but Gangolas and Chaugarikhiyas. Formerly only the people of Kali Kumaun were regarded as typical Kumaunis but now this word is used in the context of all the people of Almora and Nainital. It was the Chand kings who popularised this name among all.

That Kumaun was named after Kurma mountain is prevalent among all the people. But Thakur Jodh Singh Negi in his *Himalaya Bhraman* writes that the people of Kumaun are expert in cultivation and earning wealth; so this region was named as Kumaun. He further says that it was named Kali Kumaun not on account of river Kali but after Kalu Tadagi who once ruled there and also on

account of thick and black bushes of fir and *banjha*, adjective 'Kali' was added to it. But these arguments look baseless.

We have come to know that during the days of the Chand rulers there were three administrative divisions in Kurmachal (i) Kali Kumaun - which also included Sor, Sira and Askot, (ii) Almora which included the present hilly regions of Salam, Baramandal, Pali and Nainital (iii) The region of Tarai Bhawar or Mal. These administrative divisions existed when the Chand kingdom had reached its maximum limit.

People of Hunadesh call Kumaun as 'Kyunan', the English as 'Kumaon', the people of plains as 'Kamayun', the residents of this place as 'Kumaun' and Sanskrit scholars as 'Kurmachal'. In proper Kali Kumaun Champavat is called 'Kumu'. Even at present people there call Champavat as.'Kumu'.

2. Expansion and Area of Kumaun

Kumaun or Kurmachal is presently divided into two districts (1) Almora and (2) Nainital. It is situated between north latitude 28° - 14' - 45" and 30' - 50" - and between east longitude 76°-6 - 30 and 80° - 58 - 15. Its area is 36,80,000 acres or 8,000 square miles. Out of this about 2 lacs acre of land is cultivated and 1 lac acre cultivable and 40,000 to 50,000 acres land 'Talaun' or irrigated.

The detail of 8,000 square miles is as follows :

Snow - covered region	— 2,000 square miles
Deserted and stony regions and valleys-unfit for cultivation	— 2,000 squar miles
Arable land	— 1,900 square miles
Deserted forest region	— 2,100 square miles
	8,000 square miles

3. District Almora

District Almora is situated between north latitude 28° - 59 and 30° - 49 and between east longitude 70° - 2 and 81° - 31. It is about 5390 sq. miles in extent. In point of area Almora is approximately double of Nainital.

Boundaries of Almora—In its north sky-scraping summits of the Himalayas separate it from Tibet. In its west and its south respectively lie the districts of Garhwal and Nainital. In its east on-rushing river Kali has been flowing between Kumaun and Nepal since times immemorial.

The snow-capped mountains of Almora are highly beautiful and worth-seeing. Scenes viewed from Kausani, Shikhar, Devidhura and Binsar are quite charming and splendid. In 1929 when Mahatma Gandhi* came to Almora, he stayed at Kausani. On seeing the unrivalled scenes of the place Mahatma Gandhi and his wife saluted the pious and high mountain range. Mahatma exclaimed "How clean cotton the Almighty has kept collected for my *charkha*". In Almora the peaks of the Himalaya are from 16,800 to 25,689' high.

Nandadevi - 25689'; Trishul - 22360'; Nandakot - 22530'; Panchchuli - 22530'; Parashuram - 21772'; Banakattar - 22940'; Iragyanjung - 20455'.

Pindari glacier, the nearest glacier to Almora, is from 13,000 to 14,000' high. It is 66 miles away from Almora. The pass of Untadhura through which the Joharis go to Tibet is situated at the height of 17,500'. Among minor mountain peaks Binsar is approximately 8130' high, Kalmuni 13,000', Shikhar 10,000' and Chhipildhura 13,000'.

Big rivers—Kali, Sarayu, Gori, Koshi and two Ramgangas are the major rivers.

Water-parting—Water of the rivers of the *parganas* Askot, Sor, Sira, Juhar and Darma flows into river Kali. Water of the regions of

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***ALMORA IMPRESSION**

(By Mahatama M.K. Gandhi)

In these hills, nature's hospitality eclipses all men can ever do. The enchanting beauties of the Himalayas, their bracing climate and the soothing green that envelopes you leaves nothing more to be desired. I wonder whether the scenery of these hills and the climate are to be surpassed, if equalled, by any of the beauty spots of the world. After having been nearly three weeks in Almora Hills, I am more than ever amazed why our people need go to Europe in search of health.

July 11th 1929

Young India

Katyur, Danpur, Darun, Gangoli and Chaugarkha flows into river Sarayu. Panar takes the water of Salam to Sarayu. Water of Baramandal is taken to major Koshi by minor Koshi and Sual. In Pali Pachhaun, Gagas collects the water of all the minor rivers into itself and joins Ramganga near Bhikhiyasain. In the end the water of all these rivers flowing into Ganga reaches Gangasagar.

4. **District Nainital**

Nainital is situated between north latitude 28° - 51 and 29° - 37 and between east longitude 78° - 43 and 80° 5. It covers an area of 1701093 acres i.e. 2658 sq. miles.

Boundaries: To its north lie the districts of Almora and Garhwal. Between Almora and Nainital flow rivers Kumaniyan, Koshi, and Sual. On Koshi and Sual there are bridges at Khairna and Ghuradi. These are practically natural boundaries. To its west lie the districts of Garhwal and Bijnaur and to its east Almora and Nepal. To its south lie the districts of Pilibhit, Bareilly, Rampur and Moradabad. The boundaries between Nainital and Almora are at some places artificial and at some natural. To its north lie the four *parganas* of Almora—Pali Pachhaun, Faldakot, Baramandal and Chaugarkha and to its east Kali Kumaun and Talladesh Bhavar. Between Nepal and Nainital flows river Sharada on which near Banbasa a big bridge and dam have been constructed and a canal also has been taken out. The *parganas* Puranpur, Pilibhit and Jahanabad of Pilibhit adjoin it. Richchha and Chaumahala *parganas* of Bareilly are within the boundary of Nainital. Bilaspur and Suar *tahsils* of Rampur state lie within the boundary of Rampur and Nainital. Thakurdvara *tahsil* of Moradabad is adjoining it. The river Fika is between this and Bynour. Ahead of its lies the *pargana* of Afzalgarh.

Mountains: Here there are no high peaks of the Himalaya, but the height of some peaks of the outer Himalaya is as follows :

Saicholia Parvat - 8505; China Pahada - 8568; Badhan Patal - 8408; Mukteshwar - 7602; Budha Patal - 8244; Patthargarhi - 7535'; Badhantola - 8612; Chaugarh - 6128; Vinayakdhura - 8186; Chudiyagarh - 7959'.

Near Kota, like the Sivalik hills of Dehradun, there is subsequent to the hill a sub-hill, in between which there is a table-land which looks very beautiful and attractive.

In Tarai, Rudrapur and Gadarpur are the lowest places. They are 720' above the sea-level. The Tarai is generally 720'-795' high. Haldwani is at the height of 1380' and Kathgodam 1700'. In this way height increases step by step. In Tarai Bhavar this height is normally not felt though in one mile there is an increase of 12'. When rivers from high places fall down into lower regions in the form of water-falls, then alone height and depth are clearly known.

Rivers: In Nainital there is not a single major river emerging from the Himalaya. Koshi and Ramganga come there flowing through Almora.

5. **Climate**

Different types of climate are found in the mountains. In, snowy places there is always acute cold. Even at peaks about 6000' high there is sufficient cold in summers, specially in mornings and evenings. When in plains, in the heat of the month of May and June, there is no comfort even under electric fans and behind *khas* screens, in hills it is quite pleasant. At the height of 2000'-3000' though the air is hot, yet there is no heat-wave. The climate of the mountain-valleys is not good; there is acute cold in winters and intense heat in summers. But the climate at mountain peaks is dry, pleasant and healthful. For many types of diseases, specially for T.B., the climate of the places like Almora and Bhawali, where there is abundance of pine-trees, has been regarded good. In the Himalaya, barring the period when it rains, snow falls. In winters also on mountains above 5,000' high there is snow-fall; rather in their northern parts there is acute Tibetan cold. All the land near the Himalaya 10,000' to 4,0000' high gets covered with snow. In the outer Himalaya sometimes, snow falls even in places less than 5,000' high, but it seldom stays there. In summer upto the height of 18,000' there is constant snow. Downwards in the parts of the high mountains at the height of 7,000' to 8,000' where the rays of the sun do not reach snow exists upto April and May, but not later; so only in that year when there has been acute cold. Downwards normally every third year there is snowfall between December and March. During January and February there is acute cold. The sight of snow-fall also is one of the marvels of playful Nature. When it snows the whole Nature gets calm and quiet, there is no sound when it snows. Granules of snow, like balls of cotton, settle down on all the plants and trees,

fields and roofs of the houses. There is seen whiteness all around. If there is sudden sunshine after snowfall eyes begin to dazzle.

In the rains and in the summers the climate of Tarai-Bhavar is not good. The climate of Bhavar is not so bad, but in Tarai people suffer from malaria and enlarged spleen. Mosquitoes are found in abundance there. Above Bhavar also in mountains 3000' to 4000' high the climate is warm and it does not snow there.

6. **Temperature**

In Nainital, in summers, mercury does not rise beyond 85° and in winters it goes down to 30°-32°. In Mukteshwar it has been seen to be as low as 25.5°. In Almora, which is 5,500 high from sea-level; mercury rises to 92° in summers. In some of the valleys when there is sunshine temperature rises to 110°. In Tarai at some places, during day-time temperature rises to 116° - 117° but it goes down in the evening.

In summers mountains like Nainital, Chaubatia and Binsar etc., in rains Almora and in winters Haldwani look quite attractive and hilarious.

7. **Rainfall**

On very high mountains there is scanty rainfall. Even when its rains, it rains slow. High mountains of lower regions draw the rain-clouds towards them. So in them and in places near them there is heavy rainfall. In small hillocks and in valleys, though there is no much rainfall, yet sometimes there is heavy downpour.

In Nainital the average annual rainfall is upto 98". In 1893 the rainfall was 154". Generally in Kathgodam annual rainfall is 91", in Haldwani 81", in Ramnagar 65", in Kilpuri 64", in Rudrapur 57", and in Kashipur 46".

The average rainfall of the district of Almora is 60". In Almora proper annual rainfall does not exceed 40"-50". The same is the situation in Ranikhet. The rain-water of Almora is absorbed by the mountain-regions of Binsar, Gagar, Mukteshwar and Syahidevi etc. Sometimes when there is sunshine in Almora, there is heavy downpour in its neighbourhood. There is scanty rainfall in Pali Pachhaun, the average is between 40" and 60". In Kausani the rainfall is 50"-60", in Berinag 72" and in Chaukodi 92". When rains

set in Bombay, there is heavy downpour in mountains. It is called mini-rainy season. In mountains generally it rains every month.

8. Diseases

Tarai Bhavar is a hot region. If there are diseases, it is no wonder. But in the congenial and pure climate of the mountains, full of life giving air, the people should not have known even the names of diseases. But unfortunately it is not so. European countries by means of their scientific knowledge have driven out harmful things like dirt, mosquitoes and flies that spread diseases. But on account of our unscientific ways of living, food and drink and lack of education in pure and hygienic living, all the diseases, sorrows, miseries and poverty have fallen to the lot of the Indians. Whether they live in dirty climate or in pure one, they are seldom stout, handsome and active. The main reasons behind this are (i) the evil custom of child-marriage, (ii) lack of physical exercise, (iii) lack of scientific or any type of education, and (iv) poverty; these are the main reasons for non-reduction of diseases not only in the towns of Almora but also in its villages. The main diseases of this region are: cough, bile, and melancholia. '*Sanjar*' a type of fever is quite common here. Diarrhoea and dysentery are hereditary diseases of the hill people. Plague and small-pox also often spread here and cholera mostly spreads in *yatralines* and in fairs. Sometimes on account of acute heat and delay in rainfall, it adopts epidemic form at some places. Inflammation of the glands of neck *(galgand)* and leprosy also are most common. Many people regard diseases as the outcome of the wrath of gods and goddesses and believe that they can be cured by means of night vigils *(jagar)* and worship of gods.

If people live a neat and clean life, realise the importance of physical labour, keep the house, cow-sheds and water-reservoirs clean, form the habit of taking regular bath, keep the manure in ditches away from their residence and ease themselves in trenches away from their houses and cover them with earth, then most of the diseases may be kept away.

T.B. was not even heard here, but since the declaration that the climate of this place is curative for the patients of T.B. and opening of sanitarium, it is on increase. People in their avarice for rent let out their houses to T.B. patients without maintaining cleanliness in a scientific manner. The inevitable result is that the

germs of the disease spread all around. In Kumaun, there are both government and private hospitals and dispensaries. A type of fever called *'sanjar'* is quite common in villages. It is infectious and many people die of it. With the introduction of modern civilization the wrath of typhoid has considerably increased in towns and cities.

Here there is no dearth of leprosy also. In 1840 a leper-house was opened here with 20 lepers. In 1911 there were 27 and in 1935, 95 lepers.

Vaccination is in vogue here since very early times. Vaccination for small-pox was introduced here by the English. Now the vaccination for cholera and plague also have came into vogue. Plague also spreads here many times. It is called *'putakia'*. It is a bit different from the rat-spread plague. When it spreads people leave their villages and repair to forests.

9. **Animals**

Owing to different types of climate of the regions from Tarai to the Himalaya, different kinds of animals are found here.

Domesticated animals: Elephants, camels (in Tarai Bhavar), horses, mules, donkeys, cows, buffaloes, oxen, pigs, sheep, chowry cows, *jhupus* and dogs are the main domesticated animals. Bhutani dogs are very strong. Among animal-diseases '*man* and *khuria*' are most common in the mountains.

Wild animals: Wild elephants reside in Tarai-Bhavar and are found from *chilla* forest near Haridwar to Kota Bhavar of Kumaun and Sarada region. They sometimes trample agricultural crops. They are captured either by chasing *(kheda)* or in pits *(khad)*. Formerly *nawabs* of Rampur and *maharajas* of Balrampur used to catch elephants, but now capturing or killing elephants without governmental permission has been banned. Wild camels are not found in Tarai Bhavar. Wild horses, donkeys, *kyang*, yak and Tibetan wolves are found on the side of Tibet, chowry cows and *jhupus* also are found there in wild condition. Many of them are also captured and tamed. In Tarai, in the bushes of nuds or the grassy land of Bhavar striped and big man-eater tigers also reside. People call them lion, but actually they are Bengal-tiger. Tigers are of many more kinds-*guldar*, hyena, panther and leopard etc. In the snowy regions of the Himalaya white tigers called *thadu* are also

found. A kind of white bear is also found there but mostly only black bears are seen in the hills. In Johar, Darma and Vyas red bears are also found. In Bhavar grey bears also are seen. In Tarai Bhavar antelopes and deer of many type are found while stags, *chital, pada, ghurad, kankad, barad* and *suro* etc. are found in hills. *Barad* is a very fast running animal. It can jump thousands feet down. Hunters shoot it, when it jumps. Its game is said to be quite thrilling. All types of four-horned deer, *jadau, sambhar* and *gaud pada* are found. Wolves are not so dangerous as the wild dogs. They kill even tigers. They eat up deer, *chital* and *sambhar* whichever they get. Foxes and jackals of many kinds are found in Tarai Bhavar in abundance. Prizes also are given for shooting lions, tigers, panthers, and bears. Hundreds of them are killed every year yet on account of abundance of forests tigers kill many men and cattle. In olden times, the forests of Tarai Bhavar were the hunting grounds of kings and *nawabs*, now they are the hunting grounds of the English. Two types of monkeys are found here: (1) *Ratua* or *Hanuman-* whose face and hips are red (2) *Langoor* whose tail is long and face is black. There is some difference between the *langoors* of Bhavar and those of hills. *Chutharaul* is a highly wonderful as well as beautiful animal of this place. Its wool is quite soft.

The other animals are hares, wild boars, smaller pigs of Tarai, wild cats, bats, rats, squirrels, mongooses, *gvans* and porcupines. Porcupines, which are called *saulas*, are found in hills in abundance. It leaves *tirs* (spikes) behind it and greatly damages crops, specially potatoes. People of *tharu* and *boksa* tribes eat the flesh of short-statured pigs found in the Tarai very much.

Musk-deers are found in mountains 8000 high. Musk is found in their navel which is called *nabha*. Sometimes upto two *tolas* of musk is taken out from a single *nabha*. The musk-deer though small in size, is very fast. It is said that when it urinates or passes stool, the female musk-deer covers it so that hunters might not trace it (musk-deer) through its fragrance. Its hair are very hard. It is said that it always remains intoxicated under the influence of musk. Hill-people first net it in a snare and then pluck out its *nabha*. Meat-eaters say that there is no smell of musk in its flesh. It is said that *nabha* is spoiled if it is not plucked out just after killing the musk-deer. *Saro* is a very fast running animal. It resides in high mountain, caves and thick bushes.

Formerly hill-people used to kill wild animals by chasing *(kheda)* but now the laws about hunting are quite strict. Only such persons, not others, as have licence, can kill the game as per rules. Since 1935 between Ramganga and Kosi a forest measuring 200 square miles has been kept reserved for wild animals where they freely move as none is allowed to kill them.

10. Birds

Different types of birds are found both in hills and Bhavar. Almora is quite rich in respect of birds. The rajhans of Mansarovar has been praised in the *Puranas* also, because Lord Shiva lives in that form.

All hunting birds like, vultures, eagles, kites, hawks and *shikaras* (a kind of hawk) are found here. Practice of taming hawks was very much in vogue here. From here they were sent to be sold or as presents to royal courts. King Rudra Chand, the Lord of Kurmachal, wrote a scientific treatise on hawks *(Shyenik Shastra)* in which all the methods of hunting have been described.

Aads, *machchhi aads*, goose, pigeons, *malyas* (wild pigeon), *fakhtas*, sparrows, cuckoos, wood-peekers, *sitaulas*, *ghinaudas* and crows etc. are found here. *Lungi* is found at the height of 12000'; *munal* from 8000' to 12000' and *kakalans*, or *pokharaj* hens from 5000' to 10000'. They are very beautiful to look at. An ordinary *kalij* hen, is found everywhere in Bhavar, Tarai and lower hilly regions. *Simkukad*, like a cock, is a very beautiful bird. Other birds like partridges, quails, red-legged partridges *(chakora)*, nightingales, *chanchars*, *musabhyakud*, owls, *bhyapkusyodas* etc. are also found here. Water-cocks are found here in abundance. In Tarai Bhavar cranes and ducks of many types are found. In Bhavar peacocks are found in abundance. It is said that there exist 450 types of birds in this district.

11. Serpents and Insects

Eight to nine types of lizards are found here. Chameleons also are seen in good number. It is taken to be poisonous but actually is poisonless. Guanas *(goh)* which live near water and are upto 4' long are mostly found in Bhavar. There are 25-30 varieties of snakes, some of which are poisonous and some poisonless. In Bhavar there are pythons upto 25'-30' long and they can swallow a big *chital*.

Some of the serpents are very beautiful. They are black, red, green and spotted. *Betiyan* snakes also are found at places. Black snakes are most poisonous. Leeches are found in forests in abundance. They cling to naked feet. They enter into the nostrils of animals. Small mosquitoes *(mure)* also are found in abundance during rains.

12. Acquatic Animals

Fishes are of many kinds. All people except some brahmins and some vaishyas eat them. They are killed in many ways by means of spikes (*godow*) or laying nets *(main)*. Some people kill with a shear. *Thadus* and *boksas* joyfully eat fishes. Big fishes are angled from Ramganga, Kosi and Sarayu. Crocodiles and porpoises are found in plains but not in hilly regions.

13. Ancient and Modern History of the Parganas of Kumaun

In order to understand the history of *parganas* of Kumaun, it is essential to give in short its ancient and modern historical and geographical description. The *pattis* and *parganas* described in this book belong to the days of Chand kings. History of the times of the English has been added later on here and there in short.

14. Kali Kumaun

The boundary of this *pargana* is as follows: river Kali in the east; Sor, Gangoli and river Sarayu in the north; Dhyanirau in west; and river Ladhia in the south. The *pattis* are: Regdu, Gumdesh, Sui, Visung, Char Al, Talladesh, Pal Bilaun, Sipti, Gangol, Assi, Phadka and Chalsi.

According to an ancient legend, gods resided in this *pargana* in Satyug. Later on demons started living here. It is known from the *Ramayana* that in *tretayug* when Ram killed Ravana and Kumbhkarn he threw the latter's head towards Kurmachal, as it was the dwelling place of the demons. It was thought that by throwing the head much water would be produced there in which demons etc. would be drowned to death. It is said that it happened so.

Later on at the end of *dvapar* and the beginning of *kali* era when there was the incarnation of Lord Krishna Pandavas announced on drum-beat the *digvijay* of the whole world. Then it is said, they had to fight against the Kshatriyas. This happened about 5,000 years back. It is further said that Bhimsen's son, Ghatotkach,

born of demoness Hidimba, who in the Mahabharat war was killed by Karn, was a resident of this place. So after his death Bhimsen built a temple in his memory near Champavat. There he broke the skull of Kumbhkarn from which arose the river Gandaki. Later on he built a temple of Ghatotkach, presently called *Ghatku Devata*, towards the east of Champavat at a distance of one mile in Fungar hills. Below it at a distance of one mile he built a temple of queen Hidimba. It is famous even today. It is said that the blood of the goat offered to god Ghataku, mixed with water, passes underneath the hill and so the water emerging from the temple of Hidimba is red. Perhaps there exists a mine of orpiment or red soil. By burning lamps in the name of Ghataku *alias* Ghatu Devata, rains can be stopped.

The ancient city of this *pargana* was located in Sui *patti* where at present there is a forest of fir-trees and in it the temple of Surya exists even now. Perhaps it was built by the kings of Solar dynasty. Later on at the foot of this mountain the English founded Lohaghat-where formerly during the rule of the Company, army also was stationed. When the city was founded in Sui, there was a dense forest in Champavat. Later on towards the west of Champavat a town was founded and there a king of the Rawat family also built a fort named Daunkot. The remains of this city even now are called Kotwal Chabutara and Singar Chabutara. Descendants of the Rawat kings of this Daunkot even now reside in Patti Talla Salli and Gumdesh. King Somdeo destroyed Daunkot and founded Champavat there. The English instead of founding a town here inhabited Lohaghat. It was named Champavat on account of its situation on the bank of river Champavati. Here king Som Chand built a fort named Rajbunga. In it presently the office of the *tahsil* is housed. The oldest fort is Kautolgarh which it is said, was built by demon Banasur for himself. When he could not be killed by Vishnu, Mahakali appeared and killed him. Sui is also called Shronitpur. River Loha arose from the blood of that demon. The soil of the place is a bit red and a bit black. It is said that it became so owing to the demon's blood. There are other forts such as Suikot, Chumalkot, Chandikot, Chhathot and Baunkot which all now lie in ruins. These were built by petty feudatory kings. Khilfati where goddesses Akhiltarini and Varahi, also called 'De', are enshrined, is situated on this very hill. Goddess Varahi is enshrined in Devidhura.

Goddesses Hingna and Champavati are also enshrined here. On the day of *Shravani* a fair is held in Devidhura. To the east of Champavat there is a very high mountain where Kranteshvar Mahadeo is enshrined. There itself Kurmpad also exists. It is also called Kandeo. On the slope of the mountain, in the midst of the forest of fir-trees, Malladeshvar Mahadeo is enshrined. To the west lie the high *dandas* of Hinguladevi and Siddh. Here there is the temple of Nrisingh which is known as Siddha. In Champavat the temple and the tank of Baleshvar are worth seeing. Other temples are those of Tadakeshvar, Vanalekh, Hareshvar, Maneshvar, Dipteshvar, Risheshvar, Rameshvar and Pancheshvar etc. Here Mayavati is a very beautiful land of penance. Here there is a monastery of Ram Krishna Mission established by Swami Vivekanand. This region is highly cold and its climate is quite healthful. The dialect of this place is sweetest to hear. The rivers here are Ladhiya, Gindaki, Lohavati and Champavati. Some forests of the place are quite dense.

History: The king residing in Sui or Daunkot in the middle of Kali Kumaun was also the master of Dhyanirau and Chaubhainsi. Under him were the *pattidars*, each of them being the leader of a *patti*, whose duty was to collect revenue and to act according to the orders of the king. During the time of the Chand kings their posts had come to be known as *budha*, *sayana*, and *kamin*. The Bauras of Fungar and Chauki claim to be *thatvans* or the oldest habitants of this place. During winters the people of this place after having sown wheat went to Bhavar. It was a saying.

'दस दशैं बीस बमावल, कुमूँ फुल भाँग भगवाल'

Now people rarely go to Bhavar. Hilly paper is being produced here since long. In the time of kings *charas* (untoxicating drug) of village Khateda was quite popular. From the village Forti a partridge was daily sent to the king as his prey. From Gosni green coriander was sent. Radish of Kalarbvan, *pinalu* of Chaunsal, *gava* of Sui, curd of Padasyun, wheat and orange of Machhiyad and *basmati* of Salam were sent for the king. Even now these things of those places are famous.

15. **Dhyanirau**

The *pargana*, now a *patti*, lay to the west of Kali Kumaun. It had only two *pattis*-Tallirau and Mallirau. River Ladhiya emerges

from these mountains. In Tallirau in Kimukhet there is a copper-mine and in village Mangal-lekha an iron-mine. Iron of this place is said to be of superior quality. The two forts named Kayalkot and Kaidakot now lie deserted. The mountains named Lohakham and Kailas are very high. In Mallirau Gurana, Badet and some part of Josyuda have been offered in *gunth* to goddess Varahi. Mostly the people of Baura and Kaida castes live here. These very brave persons having been recruited in the army of Chand kings had gone to conquer Baurarau, Kaidarau and Pali Pachhaun.

16. **Chaubhainsi**

This *pargana* lay to the west of Dhyanirau. Now it is a *patti* connected with Chhakhata. In its middle flows rivers Gaula. Here the *danda* of Satliya is very cold. Surai-trees are found here in abundance. At the end of this *pargana* lies Maluatal. The story about Maluatal runs thus: Sri Malua of Raikal caste, was a *zamindar* of Chhakhata. He was very powerful. He called himself a *paika* (wrestler). He did what he liked. He snatched good things belonging to anybody. Once Malua whisked away the beautiful wife of a farmer and hid her in a mountain-cave and also seated himself there. From all places he carried away good things. Whoever raised any objection, was killed. One rainy season there was heavy downpour. There was an earthquake and mountains wrecked. Malua along with the lady and his belongings was flown down into river Gaula and its flow remained stopped for a number of days. Later on it resumed its flow. Where the mountain had fallen, there a lake was created. After the name of Malua it was named Maluatal. Formerly there two *pattis* lay in *pargana* Kali Kumaun, but later on they were made independent *parganas*.

Presently the *pargana* officer of Kali Kumaun lives in Lohaghat. It is a small township. At present the *tahsil* is housed in the Rajbunga fort of Champavat. In 1913 the Commissioner gave away this mountain to the Anglo-Indians to settle down. In Mayavati there lies the *ashram* of Swami Vivekanand. In Khetikhan also there is a good habitation. There is also a middle school here. The place is gay and lovely.

17. **Sor**

Boundary: Kali in the east, Saryu in the south, Ramganga in the west, Askot, Kandali Chhina and Sira in the north.

Former *pattis*: Seti, Khadayat, Satsilangi, Mahar, Saun Valdiya and Raul.

This *pargana* has two names. The part which is plain is called Saini Sor and the part where there are mountains is called Sor.

High mountains: Dhaj, Kavalekh, Udaipur, Arjuneshvar, Hinapani, Asureshvar or Asurchul, Chandak, Thalkedar, Basarudi and Bamdyaun.

Rivers: Major rivers, such as, Sarayu, Kali, and Ramganga (eastern) flow within its boundary.

Here at one place red soil, like *gulal*, is found. Hilly paper is also manufactured but it is rough. Paper is made from *baduva* tree. Its leaves are long, plant is small, flowers are white and fruits, when ripe, are red. From its roots purgatives are prepared.

Names of gods are: Dhvajeshvar, Pancheshvar, Sthalkedar, Gokarneshvar etc. which are Mahadeo. Vaishnavi and Kotavi are the goddesses. In Dhaj resides goddess Jayanti. It is said that Devi had killed the demons named Chand and Mund here at Chandghat *alias* Chandak. Atkinson and Rudradatt Pant have noted down two stories about this place :

सोरिकै नाली कत्यूरिया माणो,
ज्वेजै ठूली खसम जै नानो।

From which it is known that here women wield greater power than men. They have also referred to one more story which being obscene is not quoted here.

Sor was for many days under the jurisdiction of the Doti kingdom. Formerly, in Sor there were 9 kings, so it is also called 'Na Thukur Sor'. Those kings had nine forts—

1. Uchakot - in between villages Pangut and Hudati.
2. Bhatkot - to the east of Pithoragarh at half a *kos* to the north of villages Chaisar and Kumaud.
3. Bailarkot - near *mauja* Tharkot.
4. Udaypurkot - to the west of Bazar and above *maujas* Paydeo and Majeda.
5. Dungarakot - near *maujas* Dhari and Pamain.
6. Sahajkot - to the north of Bazar above *mauja* Panda and mountain Urg.

7. Bamuvakot - south of Bazar on the peak of a mountain.
8. Devadarkot - In Valdia *patti* near *mauja* Simalkot.
9. Dunikot - near *maujas* Duni and Kasani east of *chhavani* (Cantonment).

Now nothing is known about these kings. Their forts lying in ruins, are deserted. Having defeated all these kings once a Bam king established his kingdom in the whole of Sor. During the time of Chand rule Piru *alias* Prithvi Gusain built the fort of Pithoragarh. Since then this place is known by this name. In between Sor and Doti (Nepal) flows river Kali, a very fast and deep river. It is difficult to cross it. Near Jhulaghat the river is narrow. Formerly it was called Juaghat also. People say that the river at this place was so narrow that persons crossed the river by placing the yoke of oxen across it. But now its span has greatly widened. Now owing to the existence of a hanging iron bridge, it is called Jhulaghat. No merit is said to be achieved by taking a bath in Kali.

In Sor honey is produced in abundance. Banana also of this place is sweet. Orange of this place is a bit more sour than that of Gangoli. Grain and *ghee* also in comparison to other places are sold cheaper here. *Ghee* is exported from here. *Phulua* and molasses of *chyura* also is imported here from Nepal. A few trees (of *phulua* and *chyura*) grow here also.

In modern times there are an English high school, a mission school and a Hindi middle school and also a girls' school. The *pargana* officer also resides here. Dakbungalow, hospital, telegraph office and *tahsil* also are there. Till 1846 a platoon, was stationed here. Many soldiers and pensioners live here. There is also a big habitation of missionaries. There are two small fortresses, called London and Vilkigarh. Beautiful scenes are visible from Chandak. There is a leper-asylum also. There is a good habitation in Odda.

Near Chandak in Most Manu a very big fair is held. From Ramganga to Bas the ascent is very difficult. Above Kalchhin, Gorang also is a good and beautiful place. Nayakas live in villages like Lilu, Sinchaud, Naini, Nayakana etc.

18. Sira

Boundary: In the east Halabanj and Kanadali Chhina separate it from Askot. In the north in between Sira and Johar lie Goriganga

and Kotali Sujan Bunga. In the west Ramganga separates it from Gangoli. In the south in between it and Sor stand mountains Rasalapata and Vichhilaka Birkham.

Old pattis: Athbisi, Barbisi, Dindihat, Mali and Kasan (this *patti* does not exist now).

High Mountains: Khandadhura, Devchula, Sirakot, Sirtham, Sandeva, Judang, Singarpur, Jatiyakhan, Hardo-ka-danda Masurdeva ka dhura, Gudila and Parikhan.

Rivers: Dindeshvar, Balanti, Bhagigad, Raitis, Thuligad, Pargad, Doka, Pala, Kakdali etc. But the biggest river is Ramganga which joins Sarayu at Rameshvar.

Gods : In Khadadhura Ghanteshvar Mahadeo is enshrined. In the time of Raika kings people from upto Doti, Banjag and Achham congregated here in the fair. Usually bells are offered to this god. During the days of the Chand kings this fair dwindled. Owing to the change of state, people across Kali do not come now. In mountain Deochula Bhagaling Mahadeo is enshrined. Every year in *bhadon* a fair is held here. On the bank of Ramganga Balishvar Mahadeo is enshrined. It is said that in *tretayug* Bali, the king of monkeys, had set up this *ling*.

Formerly a fair was held here on the *purnmasi* of *chaitra*. Now it is held on *vishuvat sankranti*. It is an industrial fair. Goods from Bhot and plains are brought here for sale. The people of Johar, Darma, Vyans, Chaudans, Danpur, Sor, Sira, Askot, Gangoli and Kali Kumaun and capitalists of Almora congregate here. Articles such as *suhaga* (borax), salt, *pashmina* (soft fine wool), blankets, small fans, navels of musk deer containing musk, *chanvars* (flappens made of tails of wild oxen), *nirbisi*, *katuki*, *mansi*, coral, *gandreni*, *jambu*, pearls, clothes, sugar candy, dry fruits, copras, *dakh*, almonds, date-palms, betel leaves and betel-nuts are sold and purchased here.

Dindihat, located at a high and cold place, is the main place here. During winters Raika kings came here to bask themselves in the sun on the bank of the river flowing between two mountains. Here there was a market also. The old palace is lying in ruins. Many other ruins are also there. Above Dindihat there is Digtad, an open field. During the days of the Raika king a big fair was held here. The Chand kings stopped this fair here and started it in Gangoli. It is

now being held again in Balishvar Ramganga. In Barabisi *patti* there is a big copper mine called *Rajkhan*. From here copper of good quality was dug out in good quantity. There is one more copper mine in Bamangad but it is antiquated. In village Musmoli of Mali *patti* there is a very old *nagkesar* (medicinal) tree. Its flowers were brought to the royal court. It is said to be a medicine for cholera also.

Till the time of Raika king Harmall this *pargana* was included in Doti later on in Kumaun. Above Digtad Pata to the west on the peak of a mountain still exists Sirakot in which the Raika kings resided. Inside it there were also the temples of Devi and Bhairav, now in ruins. Beneath this fort under the river was a two mile long tunnel which also is now in ruins. Senapati Purushpant conquered it. Since it came under the possession of Chand kings it has been converted into a prison for offenders committing serious crimes. Near it there is a new fort also. But now both of them are in ruins. Regarding the building of this new fort there runs a parable, "One day when the king had gone for hunting on a peak, a deer attacked him. The king thought how could a deer dare attack him. In view of the importance of the place a fort was built there. In this very Sirakot fort king Dip Chand was kept imprisoned along with his two sons. Later on they were put to death under the orders of king Mohan Chand.

Formerly in this region banana was produced in abundance. When people wanted to pluck pods of banana they apprehending the presence of tigers inside the banana grove went there beating drums, kettle drums and firing guns. There is a beautiful temple above Baleshvar which, it is said was built by a mason having only one hand. There was a contract that the temple should be completed and also consecrated in a single night. But in course of its building the day dawned and so its consecration could not be performed.

Here exist a number of such places as end in Tad viz, Digtad, Likhtad, Dhingtad, Pipaltad, Dubtad, Amtad, Baltad etc.

Thal, on the bank of Ramganga and Dindihat, at the height of about 8,000' are the only two main places in this *patti*. At present there is a middle school in Dindihat.

19. Askot

Askot, though so petty was the celebrated capital of the royal dynasty of the ancient Katyuri kings. It now remains only as the memorial of the great Katyuri empire.

Name of high mountains: Dhaj, Saj, Gobaras, Lekh, Simhalikhan, Nakot, Chamfachal, Jamtadi, Haidikhan, Chhipaladhura, Darchula and Payanpaudi. Amongst these Chhipala and Dhaj are the highest ones.

Rivers: River Sangaki emerging from mount Gobaras, river Charma from Dindihat, Gomati from Askot, Gori from Johar and Rautis from village Sirakhet fall in Kali. Golanti Kheti, Phula and Relagad are the minor rivers. Kali and Gori are the major rivers of this region. Their confluence takes place at Jauljivi. Since 1913 on the day of *kartik samkranti* an industrial fair is held here.

In mountain Chhipula (13000') alias Najurkot there is a very big cave. Every third year, during winters a fair is held there. On this occasion worshippers enter the cave sounding instruments like conches, bells and kettle drums. Only a potful water comes out from stone there. Taking it as a miracle of god they perform the worship here. There is a tank also where every third year during rains, a fair is held and god Chhipula is worshipped. *Zamindars* of that regions also perform the initiation ceremony of their sons at this place. In this very tank there is a small stone-house. Only he can enter into it whom the god favours. The tank is filled up in the rainy seasons, in winters and summers it dries up.

In Champhachal Mallikarjun Mahadeo is enshrined. A fair is held here twice a year. Rajbars serve meals to the visitors to this fair. The reason is that formerly this Mahadeo was worshipped in Doti but more than a hundred years back, the Rajbar of Askot had a dream that since then the worship would be performed in Champhachal mountain. Then a temple was built there.

Lakhanpur Kot: The Kot is located to the east of Champhachal Askot on the bank of Kaliganga. Before the foundation of Askot the king of Askot lived in this fort. Near it lay the market named Bagadihat, now is ruins. The land on the bank Kali is highly fertile. *Ghee*, honey, banana, *vasamati* (rice), mango and guava are produced here in abundance.

Main places: Askot proper, where the Rajbar lives, is also called Deval. Besides the houses of Rajbar and his brothers, there are also a few shops, a post office and a forest bungalow. Garkha, Sinhali, Malana, Kanalichhina, Dharchula and Baluvakot are the main

places of Askot. There are schools also. During winters owing to the arrival of the Bhotias there is sufficient hustle and bustle here.

People: In Talla Askot Hindus of all the four castes (*varnas*) live. Malla Askot is mostly inhabited by people of Doti. On high mountains in villages Rachi, Juma, Kanar etc. indigenous people live. They are quite simple. Besides, the tribal people called Ravat, Raji and Kirat, are found here and there. They have now remained very few in number.

Occupations: Cultivation and cattle-rearing are the main occupations. Many people have joined service or are soldiers and rear goats. They also trade in wool, salt and borax (*suhaga*). Good mats are also prepared here. Ravats make beautiful utensils of wood.

Management—In Talla and Malla Askot there are about 142 villages. In Talla Askot only 4-5 villages are in partnership, the rest are *khaykar*. In Malla Askot 5-6 villages are of *khaykars*, the rest are *sirtans*.

This *pargana* was formerly included in Doti. Later on a branch of the Katyuri kings came here. First they remained under Doti but later on became feudatory kings under the Chands. During the English rule they came to be called Rajbars. Excepting those of Kashipur, because of the law of primogeniture in ascending to the throne, they are taken to be the most respectable among all the *zamindars* of Kumaun. This rule does not permit the division of state. The descendants of the younger brothers get only subsistence allowance.

Rajbar or Rajbar has been derived in two ways :

(1) Raj + bar = Rajbar = best among the kings

(2) Raj + barah = one among 12 kings. At that time there were 12 kings ; Katyuri, Chand, Khas, Shai, Mall, Bam, Mankoti and Basheda etc. So out of 12 kings one king came to be called Rajbar. We cannot say which of these two derivations is correct.

At the time of the settlement made by Mr. Bikett, almost all the sharers of Askot were designated *khaykars* and *khaykar sirtans*. The Rajbar was appointed as a petty land-lord. *Sirtans* as well as *khaykars* have to face a number of difficulties in respect of

cultivation and revenue. Rajbar can eject *sirtans* or fix the revenue at his sweet will. A type of forced labour called *bisaundi* is taken from the poor people. Under this grains are procured from the tenants at one-fourth of the market-prices. Presently under *bisaundi*, ghee is purchased at the rate of 3 seers, rice 24 seers, wheat 40 seers and barley 60 seers a rupee. Besides, taxes such as *nazrana, belibasa, Bisasau, jhaguli, tika* and *sirti* etc. are realised. Fishes are to be angled in *begar*. During the fair of Jauljivi also when Rajbar with a contingent of 30-40 men tours the villages *begar* is taken. Villagers have to bear their expenses. So the subjects have to suffer a lot. Till the laws relates to farmers are not adequately changed, they cannot be happy. If the Rajbar happens to be of good nature, he keeps the subjects happy, otherwise, if hard-hearted, subjects live disatisfied.

History: Formerly Kirats and serpent-worshippers lived here. Later on the Khas people in days of their prosperity ruled here. None of them was a great ruler ; they were only petty rulers. Assikots of Askot belong to that very time, though at present some reside outside Askot also.

When the Chand kingdom founded by Som Chand was prospering in Kali Kumaun, in Gangoli Mankoti, kings were counting their last breath and in neighbouring Sirakot Mall kings were on the throne. Then 80 Khas kings ruled in Askot, but none was a powerful ruler. Then the kingdom of Katyur also had disintegrated and the descendants of Birderva or Brahmadev, the last ruler of Solar dynasty, had here and there started dividing the kingdom. One of them, king Abhaypal, the grandson of Brahmadeo and son of Trilokpal came here in 1279 A.D. and capturing Assikot from the Khas rulers founded the kingdom of Askot. From 1279 to 1588 the descendants of Abhaypal ruled here. History of this period is not available. In 1588 A.D. King Raypal was killed by Gopi Ojha. Only a small boy, Mahendrapal, being protected by a woman of *gval* caste anyhow survived. This little prince was sent to king Rudra Chand. He made him his tributary king on the payment of an annual tax of Rs. 300/-. History of the period from Rajbar Mahendrapal to Abhaypal (2) is not available. In 1742 Rajbar Uchhavapal ascended to the throne. In 1778 when Gorkha rule was established in Kumaun, they raised the revenue from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 2000/-. A battle was fought between Rajbar Rudrapal and

Mahendrapal. Both of them wanted to get their sovereignty established by the Gorkha government. One third part was with Rajbar Rudrapal. Litigation took place during the time of the English government also. In 1843 this third part was also sold. In 1858 Rajbar Pushkarpal bought it from Lala Tularam Shah Khajanchi. The descendants of Rajbar Rudrapal now live in Raulkhet, a village in Gangoli.

In 1840 there arose a dispute for *rajbarship*. In the end Bahadurpal was appointed *rajbar*. Since then it was decided that there would be no division of the throne. In 1871 on the death of rajbar Bahadurpal, *rajbar* Pushkarpal ascended the throne. He is said to be a good-natured man. He was also made an honorary magistrate. After him *rajbar* Gajendrapal ascended the throne. On account of the death of his eldest son, prince Bhupendrapal in 1924, his second son prince Vikrambahadurpal ascended the throne in 1929. (In this family prince Khadagsinghpal also earned a good name. He was the political *peshkar* of Tibet. Later on he became a deputy collector.)

20. **Faldakot**

Boundary: To the east river Koshi in Kakadighat, to the north the danda of Syaidevi, to the west Tadikhet and to the south Salt *patti*.

Pattis: Kandarkhuva, Dhuraphat, Chaungaun, Mallidoti and Koshyan.

Mountain peaks: Sher ka Danda, Harpali ka Danda, Musyoli ka Danda, Mulya ki Nau ka Danda, Bhuladei ka Danda, Kumpur ka Danda and Tadikhet etc. are the high mountains.

Rivers: Koshi, Kunjgad and Siraut.

Gods: Kankadeshvar, Maharudra and Bilbeshvar are Mahadeo. Jhulade is a goddess. In Tadikhet reside Goril and in Bhujan, Bhairav. A village diety Kalivisht is also there.

In this *pargana* there was a big fort named Faldakot, now lying deserted. For this reason the whole of this *pargana* is called Faldakot. Formerly Katyuri kings ruled here. Later on when their empire disintegrated, then a member of Khati caste became the king. Khatis are said to belong to Solar dynasty. Their descendants survive even now. Having defeated the Khati family the Chand

kings amulated Faldakot to their kingdom. People of Faldakot fought quite bravely. Men from each village had come to fight but in face of the trained army of the Chands they could do nothing.

People of this region are good tradesmen. They are brave in fighting and expert in carrying loads. In mountains specially the people of cold regions are quite strong.

Bodas: In this *pargana* there is a type of animal called boda. They live on fish. 10 to 25 bodas jointly catch fish, collect them together and like men distribute them among themselves. Sometimes men keep themselves hidden and snatch away the fish killed by them. If bodas urinate over the fish they are soon decomposed.

Some of the people living in this *pargana* belong to Kali Kumaun and some are local ones. On the bank of Koshi gold is procured by washing sand.

21. **Dhaniyankot**

This *pargara* lies in the middle of Kotauli, Chhakhata, Kota and Faldakot.

Pattis—Dhaniyankot, Uchakot and Chyunichauthan.

Rivers—Koshi, Khairna, Ramgad and Ghatgad etc.

Mountains—Gagar, Budhalakot and Lohali.

Forts—Even in this small *pargana* there are a number of forts like Tallakot, Mallakot, Majkot and Budhlakot. Now-a-days villages are inhabitated in these forts. In Dhaniyankot patti Bajyoli, Upaniyandunga, Tatail and Khairna and in Uchakot patti Harchanauli Kalugad etc. are in all six iron-mines.

During the time of the Khati kings Dhaniyankot was also included in the state of Faldakot. When it was seized from Khati kings, it was made a separate *pargana*.

In this *pargana* god Goril is worshipped. It is at some places cold and at some places hot. Here there are trees of mango, palmyra, *Banjh*, *Kataunj* and *Surai* also.

Pt. Rudradatt Pant has written, "In Gagar *bauns* (wild dogs) were found but now they are rare. They move in groups of 10-15.

When they move at night the last *bauns* comes in the front. In this way these dogs at night while still in sleep cover a distance of 4-6 *kos*. It is said that the *bauns* also like *bodas* when they kill an animal, equally distribute its flesh among themselves."

22. **Chhakhata**

This *pargana* lies in the middle of Kali Kumaun, Mahrudi, Dhaniyankot, Kota and Tarai. It is divided into two parts. Malla-Chhakhata is called Pahad Chhakhata and Tallachakhata, Bhavar Chhakhata. Gagar is the highest mountain here.

Gaula is the biggest river. Suki, Kaliya ki Bog, Pathrai, Chakarghata, Nara, Dhimari, Khair and Talia etc. are the minor rivers.

Gods—Bhimeshvar, Chitreshvar, Karkotakeshvar, Gangeshvar and Kailas are Mahadeo. Katyayani, Shitala and Narayani are goddesses. Karkotak, the serpent god, is installed at a high mount. It is said that as far as his vision goes, poison of serpent-bite does not affect the people. Bhimeshvar Mahadeo is said to be have been installed by Bhimsen, the younger brother of Dharmraj Yudhishthir. The lake there also came to be called Bhimtal after his name. Bhimeshvar is installed on the bank of Bhimtal. The temple of Chitreshvar Mahadeo has been built by Vishvakarma on the bank of river Gaula. Above Chitrashila to the west, on the peak of a mountain there was the hermitage of sage Markandey. It has been referred to in the 8th *adhyaya* of the 12th *skandh* of *Shrimadbhagvat* :

तेवै तदाश्रमं जग्मुर्हिमाद्रेः पार्श्वउत्तरे।
पुष्पभद्रा नदी पत्र चित्राख्या च शिला विभौ।।17।।

60 ponds are said to exist in this *pargana* on account of which it has been named Shashtikhata alias Chhakhata. It cannot be said how many of these 60 ponds have dried up and buried under ground. The names of the ponds that still exist are : Maluatal, Naukuchiyatal, Saptarshital, Nainital, Khurpatal, Kuhadiyatal, Sukhatal, Sadiyatal and Nal-Damayantital. Out of these Nainital, Bhimtal and Naukuchiyatal are big, as well as well-known. About Nal-Damayantital there is a hearsay that when king Nala having lost his whole property and kingdom was wandering in the forest, he

came to this place also. He got nothing to eat here. He caught some fish from the pond. When queen Damayanti, after applying salt, turmeric powder, chilly and spices was ready to cook them in a cauldron, all the fishes regained life at the touch of her hands in which nectar existed and one by one they jumped into the pond.

When misfortune comes, it happens like this. Even the fishes caught by Nal and cut to pieces jumped into the pond. These fishes in respect of colour and form are somewhat red and broader towards the tail and the mouth than others and so people regard them to be made of cut-pieces. Since then the pond came to be named Nal-Damayantital. Some images also have been recently salvaged from here.

Sage Garg practised penance on mountain Gagar. It is on this account that in the *Puranas* it has been named as Gargachal, Garggiri and Gargadri etc. Now in local dialect it is called Gagar.

Above Bhimtal, to the north, on the top of a mountain lives serpent god Karkotak. It is said that the serpents of Mallachhakhata were highly poisonous. But of these the *betia* serpent was most dangerous. Men bitten by it, never survived. Once a *fakir* along with his disciple passed through that way. The *betia* snake bit the disciple. The *fakir* saved him by the power of his *mantra*. Then he procured a kettle-drum and taking a bell and a flag in his hands and reciting *mantras* and beating the kettle-drum said that as far as the beat of the drum was heard, the poison of the snake would not affect any body. Even now people believe in it. The sage also wrote down the *mantra* on a stone.

In Balyadgaon of Patti Chhabbisdumola, present eastern Chhakhata there was a fight between the *zamindar* of Sammal and king Vimalchand. Pirasammal was the chief *paik* (warrior). The place where Pirasammal and his rebel companions were killed by the Chand king is still lying deserted. Except one expectant woman all the Sammals were killed. The family again started from her. The stone on which Pirasammal sat and carried on the state-business is still famous. Their *zamindari* extended to a number of villages.

Across Gaula near Khedagaon there is a village Vijaypur on a mountain peak. Here lay the fortress of King Vijaychand. Near it lies the plain of Kalichaud. Broken images of goddess Kali are found here. Possibly the Mughals and the Rohilas had broken them.

In Ranibag there was the garden of Jiyarani, the mother of Katyuri kings Dham Deo and Brahma Deo. It is said that she also practised penance in a cave here. It is a sacred *tirth* (place of pilgrimage) of the Katyuris. On *Uttarayani* hundreds of people come here and observe wholenight *jagaran* (vigil) and uttering *jay Jiya* (victory to Jiya) speak of her victory.

Above Kathgodam, to the west of Gulabghati, stands the temple of Shitaladevi. During the Chand rule there was also a market here named Shitalahat. In the middle flows a river. Across it there existed the famous fortress of Batokhari which is now called Badkhvad. It was destroyed during the Gorkha rule. It is said that from this place right upto Kota there was a thick habitation of villages. There is a popular proverb, 'हाट कि नालि क्वाटा, क्वाट् कि नालि हाट'

(Nali passed from hand to hand from that to Kota and Kota to Hat). Ruined houses, mortars engraved on stone and the sings of township are found at the foot of the mountain.

The *vaishyas* of Badaun had brought Shitaladevi from the plains. These *Sahas* of Hat are the *sahas* of Chhakhata and reside in village Dungsila. Villages Ranibag and Chaughanapata also belong to these *vaishyas*. Also the Chakudayats of Balyuti are the Chakudayats of Shitalahat. In village Dungsila, Bhimtal, stands the temple of king Bhishm Chand. Now he is regarded as *bhumiyan* (protector of the land).

In this mountainous region the following three towns are worth-description (i) Nainital (2) Bhavali and (3) Bhimtal.

23. Nainital

This township was founded by the English. It started coming into existence since 1841. Previously it was a forest. Only in the temple of Nainadevi a fair was held. In 1841 Mr Baron, an officer of Roza Wine Factory, saw it. Mr. Traill, the second commissioner of Kumaun, had also seen it earlier. Mr. Baron in his book '*Himmala*' has written that Narsingh, a *thokdar* of that place regarding Nainital as a sacred place, did not want to give it to the English. But they got him seated in their boat and asked him to sign in their note-book that he had no right in respect of Nainital, otherwise they would drown him. Out of fear Narsingh put down his signature. Many people were standing on the bank of the lake. They looked at the script in the note-book with surprise. Later on this very *thokdar*

Narsingh was appointed the *patwari* of Nainital on a monthly salary of Rs. 5/-. In 1841 Nainital began to be set up. The Commissioner, Mr. Lushinton, built a bungalow. Among the Indians Lala Motiram Sah was the first to build bungalows there. Then the land was sold @ 12 annas per acre.

Since 1857 the provincial governor started living here. In 1862 his bungalow was built near the Ramsay hospital. Later on from 1879 to 1895 the governor's house was located in St. Loo. In 1885 owing to the emergence of crevices the bungalow was deemed to be dangerous. So the governor stayed at Sherwood. In 1900 the present new palatial bungalow was built. Among the governors H.E. Lord Drummond was the first to occupy this. In 1865 he had built his own bungalow at Sher ka Danda. In 1879 he sold it and went away. In this bungalow the following governors lived on rent :

(2) Sir William Muir (3) Sir John Strachey (4) Sir George Cooper. He built a bungalow in St. Loo. In it after him lived the following Governors : (5) Sir Alfred Loyall (6) Sir Auckland Calvin (7) Sir Charles Crosthwait (8) Sir Antony Macdonell etc.

In 1895 this bungalow was abandoned. From 1895 to 1900 he lived in Sherwood House.

In 1900 a new bunglaow was built. Sir Antony Macdonell resided in it. After him the following governors lived there : (9) Sir James La Toucha (10) Sir John Hewat (11) Sir James Meston (12) Sir Haraourt Butler (13) Sir William Marris(14) Sir Alexander Muddiman (15) Sir Malcom Hailey (16) Sir Harry Haig.

We have not given the names of temporary governors but it is essential to mention the name of Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan (the *nawab* of Chhatari), as among the Indian residents of the province, he was the first to be appointed as the governor after the death of Sir Alexander and remained on the post from April 1933 to the end of the year.

When in 1880 the former assembly room was pressed down in a land-slide, the second assembly room (*nachghar*) was built in 1881. But when it caught fire and was burnt down in 1930, the present assembly room was built in 1932 at the cost of Rs. 188000/-.

Ramsay hospital was built in 1892 and Crosthwaite Hospital in 1869. Both of them were built by subscription. In 1880 it rained more than 150". There was land-slide. Many houses were pressed down and many persons were killed. Since then to save it from breaking, drains have been made at different places in the mountain. The octroi board was established in 1845. Then its income was about Rs. 800-900. Now in 1932 it is Rs. 505124/-. The first committee was chaired by General Richards and Lushington, Arnold, Capt. Wah and Capt. Barron were its members. From 1919 the work of electrification began and on Sept. 1, 1922 there was electric light in the town. In 1842 there were in all 40 bungalows and houses which by 1927 rose to as follows ; 396 bungalows and 290 houses in the Mallital market and 279 houses in Tallital. Till now no non-government chairman of the Nainital board had been appointed. Till 1934 the Divisional Commissioner used to be its chairman. Since 1934 provision has been made to appoint a nominated chairman. The first bungalow was built by Mr. Barron in 1841. It is named Pilgrim Lodge.

Educational institutions: First of all in about 1850 the missionaries opened a Mission School with less than 50 students. In 1904 it was named Humphrey High School. In 1925 government purchased the school building at Rs. 75000/- and ran the school till 1927. In 1928 late Danvir Lala Chetram Sah Thulgharia donated a sum of Rs. 50,000/-. So from October 1928 it was named Chetram High School. A committee looked after its management. In 1923 the number of students was 96 and in 1933 it rose to 283.

Government school—The present government school was taken over by the government in 1910. Its foundation was laid in 1899. The founders were Babu Kristodas and Pt. Vachaspati Pant, an advocate. Formerly the school was called Diamond Jubilee School. The present building was built in 1924. On August 1, 1910 the number of students was 106. In September 1933, 289 students got their education in it.

There are three girls' schools here : (1) Model Girls School (2) Mission Lady School and (3) Bhavani Kanya Pathshala.

In 1928 the octroi board made education compulsary for boys It runs these schools at its own cost.

Name of Schools	*No. of Students*
Municipal Primary School, Mallital	350
„ „ „ Tallital	250
„ „ „ Babrolia (for Harijans ?)	60

Besides, the octroi board gives a subsidy of Rs. 400/- to Chetram Sah High School and Rs. 150/- to Mission Girls' School.

Here there are a number of English schools also :

1.	Diaoceasan School built in		1869
2.	Phlander Smith School	„	1855
3.	Oak Openins School	„	1885
4.	St. Joseph's College	„	1888

English Girls' Schools

1.	Diaoceasan Girls' School built in		1874
2.	St. Mary Convent, Ramney Park	„	1878
3.	Wellesley Girls' School	„	------

In these schools Europeans and *kiranis* read. Now such Indian boys also as have recommendations and have adopted English ways of life can read here.

Nainital is a good township. Besides the offices of the governor, commissioner, deputy commissioner, forest officers and police officers, there are big military offices. In Kailakhan there is also a small cantonment. Along the lake there are beautiful roads. Mr. Barron writes that the temple of Nainadevi was first located near Tallital *dant* where now the post office exists. Later on it was built near the present Boat House. But when it was pressed underground Lala Motiram Sah rebuilt it in 1880 at the present place.

The lake is 1567 yards long and 506' wide. It is deepest *i.e.* 93' near Pashandevi. It is located at a height of 6350 .

The height of the neighbouring mountains is as follows : Ayarpata 7689 , Devpata, 7989 , Hanibani 7153 , China 8568 , Alma 7980 , Ladiya Kanta 8144 and Sher ka Danda 7869 .

Big hotels, both English and Indian, exist here. The scenes of this place are highly beautiful. From China peak are seen places and mountains lying at long distances. In Mallital there are good flats for sports. At night owing to the glare of the lake in the electric light Nainital looks like Indrapuri.

24(a) **Bhavali**

It is a new township. In 1885 the bungalow of the police superintendent was built here. Since the opening of a sanitarium here in 1912 the township has made a good progress. Establishment of the turpentine factory in 1895 resulted in hustle and bustle here. But owing to its transfer of Collectorganj to Bareilly in 1918, this town lost its glamour. Formerly Mr. Mullin and Mr. Newton had planted tea and fruit gardens here. Till 1917 it was under Bhimtal notified area, but since 1923 it has been made a separate notified area. Here there is a military camp also. In addition to shop-keepers and bungalow-owners, mostly the T.B. patients live here. Among the Indian sanitariums this sanitarium is the biggest and widely known. At some distance from Bhavali, ahead of Gethiya another sanitarium named Hillcrest has been built.

24(b) **Bhimtal**

Since the time of the Chand rulers there has grown a good township here. Later on a few tea-gardens were also planted. The lake is at the height of 4500. Owing to the movement of motor-vehicles the beauty of this place has been spoiled. This lake has a strong barrage which irrigates Bhavar. On the bank of the lake stands the temple of Bhimeshvar Mahadev built by king Bajabahadur Chand. At present in Bhimtal, there is the summer palace of Maharaja of Jind and also a number of bungalows. Tallital and Mallital markets, a middle school, a police station, a hospital and a post and telegraph office also are there.

Other townships—There is a small market in Garampai, Jyolikot and Bhumiyandhar are small townships. In Birbhatti there was a good habitation but as a result of land-slide it has been deserted and the distillery also has been closed down. Ramgarh is famous for its fruits and its pure and healthful climate during summers. It is a lovely place. Shri Narayan Swami has founded Aryasamaj here.

Mukteshvar—Also called Moteshvar is situated in a mountain 7500' high. It is 23 miles away from Nainital and 14 miles from Almora.

Here there is a famous laboratory in which blood of animals is first purified and then medicines are prepared from it. It was established here in 1893. Now there is a small but good township here. The place is beautiful. There are big buildings here.

25. **Kotoli**

This *pargana* is now a small *patti*. Here stands a big mountain named Kaligad. There is river Karatiyagad and also other rivulets. Kumareshvar Mahadeo is also enshrined here.

Men of Jina caste of this *patti* have been famous soldiers. Negis etc. having come from elsewhere have settled down here. The whole of this *patti* has been offered by the Gorkhas in *gunth* to Badrinath. The company government also maintained it. By its income travellers are lodged and fed. In this *pargana* there was the fort of Kotoligarh and the Khas king of this place had fought bravely against the Chands but was killed and the *pargana* passed under the Chands.

26. **Mahrudi**

It also is a small *patti*. Villages are sparsely located because this *patti* was constituted by taking 2-4 villages from the neighbouring *parganas*. Its boundary is co-terminous with Kali Kumaun. The Villages of this *patti* are located in several places in Dola ka Danda, Gagar, Banani and Kaligad ka Danda.

Here serpent god is worshipped. There are huge caves of stones where these gods are installed.

The fort named Mahrudikot was located here. A petty king of this *patti* also fought against the Chands but was killed and Mahrudi passed into the hands of Chand kings. This *patti* had been offered by the Gorkha government to the temple of Kedarnath in *gunth* to meet the lodging and fooding expenses of the pilgrims to Kedarnath from its income. The English Government also endorsed it.

27. **Tarai Bhavar**

Boundary—In the east towards Tanakpur flows river Sharada alias Sarayu which separates it from Nepal. In the west lies the region of Laldhang and river Fika flows in the middle of Garhwal Bhavar and Kumaun Bhavar. On this side some parts of Bijnaur and

Moradabad exist. In the south lie the districts of Moradabad, Rampur, Bareilly and Pilibhit. In this north stands the mountain ranges of Kumaun.

Rivers—Fika, Tumadiya, Natthavali, Dhela, Koshi, Ghugha, Dabka, Bor, Nihal, Bhakada, Dhimari, Baigul (western) Gaula, Dhaura, Baigul (eastern), Kailas, Deva, Khakara, Lohia, Jagbudha and Sharada. Except Dhela and Deva all have bridges. On Koshi and Gaula there are big rail bridges. On Sharada near Banbasa there is a big dam over which there is a bi-laned bridge. It is a beautiful example of architectural excellence. Near Kathgodam, Hardinge bridge over river Gaula, is worth seeing. It is made of cement and concrete. Under it a canal flows and across it pedestrians pass.

District Nainital is divided into three physical parts :

(1) Hilly region—This consists of the *parganas* of Pahad Chhakhata, Dhaniyankot, Pahad Kota, Kotauli, Rau, Chaubhensi, Mahrudhi and Dhyanirau.

(2) Bhavari region—It includes the *parganas* of Bhavar Kota, Chhakhata Bhavar, Chilkiya and Chaubhensi Bhavar.

(3) Tarai region—Kashipur, Bazpur, Gadarpur, Rudrapur, Kichhaha (Kilpuri), Nanakmata and Bilari are its constituent *parganas*.

After the low land of Tarai and the waterless and sandy tract of Bhavar begins the hilly region. The height of Bhavar is upto 1700′. Above it the region upto 2000′-4000′ has a type of Bhavari climate. Generally the same type of vegetation grows here. Above 4000′-5000′ vegetation again changes. From here pine and *banjh* trees begin to be seen. These un-ending mountain ranges-somewhere high, somewhere low and full of many valleys, caves and caverns and natural scenes—continue upto the mountain Himalaya. At the root of the mountain lies Bhavar. Here also at places villages called *Kore* are located on small and high hillocks. The plain land is called Bhavar. It is higher than Tarai and extends from Ramnagar to Tanakpur. For centuries clay and stones flowing down from the mountains have been coming to the plains and dumped by rivers here and there. Rivers also frequently change their course or span. All over Bhavar round and big pieces of stone are found here and there which clearly indicates that these pieces of stone must have

come rolling down the river. In Bhavar layers of clay and sand are found one upon the other. Water is not available here. When dug deep it comes out anyhow. It is a dry land. Sometimes all the rivers disappear here and re-appear downwards in Tarai. This tract of land is full of forests of big trees and thick bushes but grass like that in Tarai does not grow here. Height of the region of Bhavar is upto 1200′ to 1800′. Here cultivation is done by cutting down forests and taking out big canals from rivers. Cultivation is good but for a long time *lintana* grass or *kuri* has been troubling the farmers. Mr. Haulambari had brought it from Africa for the fencing of his gardens. Now it has spread all over. Even by cutting or burning, it is not destroyed. A long grass named Bhavad of which paper is made, is produced here. On this account this region came to be named Bhavar.

28. **Tarai**

After Bhavar lies the region of Tarai. It is derived in two ways—Hindi 'tar' *i.e.* low = Tarai or Urdu Tari + ai = Tarai. Here water hidden beneath stony and sandy surface comes out automatically. It is from 700′ to 795′ in height. Water is found in abundance here. At places water comes forth in the form of springs called *Jhante*. On dugging 5-7 cubit deep water comes out. At places wells get filled up to their brim in the rainy season. Oil like moss remains set on water. Long grass and bushes of cane are found here in abundance. There is profuse vegetation here. Here it is acute cold in winters and acute heat in summers. Days are hot but nights cool. Mosquitoes which cause malaria are found in good number here. Hands and feet become lean, belly swells and spleen is enlarged. Only the Thadus and the Boksas have been anyhow able to overcome the bad climate of this place. They alone are the oldest and stout farmers of this place.

29. **Townships of Bhavar**

Ramnagar, Kota, Kaladhungi, Haldwani, Kathgodam, Chorgalliya and Tanakpur are the famous markets of Bhavar.

Ramnagar—Formerly the habitation was located in Chilkiya but later on after the name of Ramsay, Ramnagar was founded in 1850 on the bank of Koshi. It is a good trading centre. The scenes of this place are good. By taking out a canal from Koshi 5-7 miles of land

Moradabad exist. In the south lie the districts of Moradabad, Rampur, Bareilly and Pilibhit. In this north stands the mountain ranges of Kumaun.

Rivers—Fika, Tumadiya, Natthavali, Dhela, Koshi, Ghugha, Dabka, Bor, Nihal, Bhakada, Dhimari, Baigul (western) Gaula, Dhaura, Baigul (eastern), Kailas, Deva, Khakara, Lohia, Jagbudha and Sharada. Except Dhela and Deva all have bridges. On Koshi and Gaula there are big rail bridges. On Sharada near Banbasa there is a big dam over which there is a bi-laned bridge. It is a beautiful example of architectural excellence. Near Kathgodam, Hardinge bridge over river Gaula, is worth seeing. It is made of cement and concrete. Under it a canal flows and across it pedestrians pass.

District Nainital is divided into three physical parts :

(1) Hilly region—This consists of the *parganas* of Pahad Chhakhata, Dhaniyankot, Pahad Kota, Kotauli, Rau, Chaubhensi, Mahrudhi and Dhyanirau.

(2) Bhavari region—It includes the *parganas* of Bhavar Kota, Chhakhata Bhavar, Chilkiya and Chaubhensi Bhavar.

(3) Tarai region—Kashipur, Bazpur, Gadarpur, Rudrapur, Kichhaha (Kilpuri), Nanakmata and Bilari are its constituent *parganas*.

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has been brought under cultivation. It has a police station, a small *tahsil*, on octroi barrier, notified area, railways and a telegraph and post office. Fruit and flower gardens specially of papaya, are found here in abundance. It is located on a high mound. The scenes of the rivers and forests look highly beautiful. From here a cart-road goes to Ranikhet. It has a brisk business in wood. There is a forest office also. The pilgrims to Badrinath return by it. It is the oldest route to go to the mountains. The English army had reached Kumaun via this very route.

30. **Kota Bhavar or Pargana Kota**

Boundary—Tarai in the south, Kaladhungi in the east, Dhaniyankot in the north and Ramnagar in the west.

It has two parts : (1) Pahad Kota and (2) Bhavar Kota. Pahad Kota is almost cool. Earlier there was also a Chukam *patti* consisting of 5-7 villages but now it is extinct. The big mountain here is the series of Gagar itself. From this very mountain minor and major rivers viz. Dabaka, Baur, Nahal, Bhakada, Chahal and Kaligad, rise and flow across the *pargana*.

Gods—Siteshvar and Vameshvar are Mahadeo. Tit and Kalika are goddesses. Siteshvar is also called Sitavani. It is said that in Treta, Sita, the queen of Maharaj Ram Chandra, performed penance here. This place is also called Valmiki Ashram. A fort named Parkot also existed here. This *pargana* is more in length and less in breadth because formerly many parts of the plains were included in it, but during the last days of the Chand rule they were separated from it. Hence it became more in length and less in breadth.

In these places diseases are frequent. Specially the hilly people in these places lead a difficult life. In the days of kings the offender who could settle down here was regarded as King's own tenant and was set free. To live in the bad climate of this place was in itself a sufficient punishment. Formerly whosoever was awarded the punishment of banishment was thrown into Bhavar.

Near Kota in Dhikuli are found a number of ancient dilapidated and decayed ruins and also broken temples of gods. There is a well also. Perhaps water was supplied to it by a *gul* (canal). There are many brick-made buildings also. Now at these places stand the trees of *sal, saj, kusum, harad, baheda* and *amala*.

Both the Katyuri and Chand kings used to come here during winters to bask themselves in the sun. The palaces of the time of the Chand kings now lie in ruins. Devipura named after Devi Chand still exists. Temples also at this place are like those built by the Katyuris, so it is clear that during the time of the Katyuri kings also there was habitation here. At places there are found the remains of ancient township. Formerly mainly *Buksas* lived here, now a number of hill people also live here. Here grains are produced in abundance. Wood of *sal, shisham, kusum, abnus, papadi, haldu* and *khair* is sent to distant places. Medicines such as *harad, baheda, anvala, pipal, roli, chiraunji, chhail-chhabila, hansraj, kapur kachari, chirayata* are produced in the jungles and are exported to foreign lands. Bengal tigers, deer, chital, stag, pig, nilgai, bear and bauns etc. are found in abundance. Wild elephants are also frequently seen.

In Siteshvar there was a *gunth* of the time of the Chand kings but now it is disputed by the forest department. Here the Ashok trees are very beautiful. Hot water springs exist near Sitavani temple. Here itself there are three forts which, after the names of Ram, Laxman and Bharat, are respectively called Rampur, Laxmanpur and Chaitan. Here there are the pine trees also. This place is supposed to belong to the *siddhas*. The river that flows from those springs was formerly named Kaligad and later on Chahal. Lower down it is known as river Khichadi. With its water the regions of Kyari, Pattapani, Gaibua and Bailpadav etc. are irrigated.

It is said that formerly Kamaula-Dhamaula also was the seat of royalty. Ruined buildings are found here. People say that while ploughing the field *asharfis* were found. In Dechauri there was an iron-mine and also a factory. From Chunakhan, high quality lime was sent to foreign countries.

Kaladhungi—It is a small township. Formerly it was a *tahsil*. Before the establishment of the railways, it was the public route for going to Nainital from Moradabad. *Tangas* plied on it and there were resting places also.

Haldwani—It is the biggest among the markets of Bhavar. Now it is the biggest town of Kumaun. In 1834 A.D. Mr. Traill founded it. Formerly the township was located in Mota Haldu. First thatched houses were built. Only from 1850 brick-houses began to be built.

Now it is daily progressing. Railways, telegraph and post offices and schools also are there. During winters offices at Nainital are shifted here. The population is over 12,000. From here lorries ply to Almora, Ranikhet, Nainital and Bhavali. Goods are sent to Bhimtal, Mukteshvar and Ramgad on horse back. In winters this place is, as it were, heaven. There is moderate cold here. Due to availability of tap-water many people live here even in rainy season. Here there is an oil mill also. In 1884-86 Pt. Devidatt Joshi built the Ramlila ground and temple with subscription. In *samvat* 1977 Lala Chokhelal Murlidhar built a beautiful building in it. In 1901 Babu Ramprasad Mukhtar (now Swami Ramanand) built Aryasamaj building. Smt. Triveni Devi established Arya-*anathalaya* in *samvat* 1985. In *samvat* 1980 Chaudhary Kundan Lal Verma built the beautiful building of Sevasamiti.

An English middle school was established in 1831 with a donation from Lala Baburam. In 1885 Town Act was implemented here. On February 1, 1897, Haldwani was declared a municipality and in 1904 a notified area. In 1900-1901 its income was Rs. 10149/-, now it is more than Rs. 40,000/-. In 1932 Pt. Beniram Pande built here the temple of Benirameshvar Shiva. In 1894 Bachi Gaud built a dharmashala and in *samvat* 1952 a *Parikrama* (path round a temple used for circumambulation) round and Ram temple. With the efforts of Pt. Chhedilal Pujari and Pt. Ramdatt Jyotirved, Sanatan Dharmasabha was founded in 1902. Haldwani is now bigger even than Kashipur.

Kathgodam is the last railway station. Formerly it was called Bamauri Ghata. Since the introduction of railways here, it came to be called Kathgodam. Formerly there was an outpost of Kathbans here. Owing to the existence of the godown of wood, it was called Kathgodam. Rail service was started here on April 24, 1884. Formerly it was terminated at Haldwani but later brought upto this place. Now it is a small township. Telegraph and post offices, restaurants, rest houses and octroi barriers also exist here. It is a part of Haldwani. Good breeze blows here. There is a big bridge on river Gaula. It is made of cement and concrete and is 350' long and has arches. Through it along with the road a canal also goes to Bhavar across Gaula. It was built in 1913-14 and inaugurated by Lord Hardinge. It is known after his name.

Chorgalya: People of Chaubhainsi of Bhavar live here. Here a canal

has been taken out from Nandaur and the scenes also are very beautiful. In winters there is good hustle and bustle here. Formerly it was the hiding place for thieves and so it has been named Chorgalya.

Tanakpur: It is a market on the bank of Sharada (Sarayu). In winters many people live here but during summers and rainy seasons very few remain. There is a big cemented well having a big pumping set to draw up drinking water. Across it is located Brahmadeo market of Nepal, founded by Brahmadeo Katyuri. Formerly Brahmadeo Market was located 3 miles above Tanakpur where after land-slide, the present Tanakpur was founded in 1880. First its name was Grastinganj but it did not get popular. It lies on the route to Kali Kumaun, Pithoragarh and Kailas. At a short distance from here lies the temple of goddess Punyagiri where in winters a circulating hospital also works. There is a national dispensary also. People here greatly suffer owing to crevices in the canal. Brisk trade it carried on between this place and Nepal. There is a rail line and also a market where Bhotias sell wool.

31. History of Tarai

A tract of Tarai on the bank of Sharada about 10-12 miles wide, extends from Kashipur to Banbasa. Right from Kichhaha to Banbasa mostly there are the settlement of Tharus. It is also called Bilari. The main spots of this place are: Khatima, Banbasa, Satarganj, Kichchhaha and Nanakmata. In Khatima there are a market, a school and also a *tahsil*. A canal also goes there. In Banbasa lies the source of Sharada canal. The bridge and the dam on the canal are worth-seeing. Malaria is seen personified there. Satarganj and Kichchhaha are the Head-quarters. In Nanakmata there is a *gurudvara* of Sikhs. It is said that Guru Nanak had come here. Rudrapur and Bajpur are the towns founded respectively during the times of kings Rudra Chand and Bajbahadur Chand. Formerly there was a *tahsil* in Rudrapur. Here there are buildings of the time of the Pandavas. There are high mounds and images have also been unearthed. It is said that Yashodhar Joshi, a Minister of Kumaun, was the founder of Jashpur. It is a small township 85 miles away from Kashipur. In 1856 Town Act was implemented here. Cloth is manufactured and work of good-printing is also done here. Jashpur is not included in Tarai; its climate is said to be good. It is a metalled region. In the days of Akbar its name was Shahjagir.

32. **Kashipur**

Kashipur is the most famous and the oldest town of the Tarai region. The world renowned Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang had come here. Starting from Madipur he reached Govishan, a place at a distance of 66 miles. It was 25 miles in circumference and was located on a high and solid piece of land. It could be reached with difficulty. The place was surrounded by gardens, tanks and fishponds. There were two monasteries where 100 Buddhist monks lived. There were also 30 Hindu temples. In a big monastery outside the town there stood a 200' high *stup* built by Ashok. Here Lord Buddha had delivered his religious sermon to the people. Here there were also two small *stups* which contained nail and hair of Lord Buddha. Bishop Hebar writes that Kashipur founded by God 5000 years back, was a famous Hindu place of pilgrimage. But this statement is wrong because Kashinath Adhikari, King Devi Chand's governor of Tarai had founded it in 1778 after his own name. The old fort is called Ujjain. Near it is Dronasagar, built earlier than the fort. Even now it is called by that very name and pilgrims come here. Pandavas had built it for their teacher Dronacharya. It is about 600 rectangular. While going to Gangotri pilgrims come over here. On its sides memorials of *satis* have been erected. The walls of the fort are 30' high. Bricks used in them measure 15" x 10" x 2.5". 600' this side of the fort, stands the temple of Jvaladevi, also called Ujjainidevi. A fair is held here in the month of Chaitra. There are temples of Bhuteshvar, Mukteshvar, Nagnath and Jageshvar which were perhaps built later. There is also a mound named Bhimgada which might be the *ling* (an idol of Shiva in the form of a phallus) of Mahadeo. Here are seen the ruins of a palace and also of 15 temples *i.e.* half the number mentioned by Hieun-Tsang. The remains of big Buddhist *stups* are not found except a 20' high mound of bricks near Jageshvar Mahadeo which is certainly not like the big *stups* mentioned by Hieun-Tsang and though it is similar to the Buddhist *stups*. Though Cunningham could not find things exactly as mentioned by Hieun Tsang and how could they be found after such a long time ? Yet in the above investigation, he made on the basis of the writings of Hieun Tsang, he admits that Govishan really existed on the spot where Kashipur is now located. There Lord Buddha had come and delivered his sermons.

To the north of Govishan was located the state of Brahmpur. It was perhaps the kingdom of the Katyuri kings. Hieun Tsang had travelled upto Lakhanpur, the capital of Brahmpur, Hieun Tsang came to India in the 6th Century and after staying for about 16 years returned to China in 645 A.D.

Jvaladevi of Kashipur is now called Balsundaridevi. Near it lies the mound of Gusain. Even now there are a number of tanks and gardens here. The population of this place was about 15,000 ; now it is 12,000. It has 17 wards.

Among brahmins of Kurmachal, Pants, Pandes, Joshis, Bhatts and Lohanis etc. came from Kumaun and settled down here. They were the functionaries of the Chands. Some of them were the employees of the family of King Lal Chand. Even now they occupy respectable posts. Besides them, the Chaube family is a very old and respectable family here. Also Khatri and Agrawal *Vaishyas* here are rich and respectable. *Khatris* have monopoly over the cloth-trade. Kartans also are rich and respectable.

In 1872 municipal board was established here. In 1915 Udayraj Jagatlakshmi High School was founded. In establishing it Jagatlakshmi donated Rs. 10000/- in cash and king Udayraj Singh also donated a village. Citizens also gave subscription. In establishing it Pt. Govind Vallabh Pant and Mukundram Joshi made great efforts. There is also a town school within the municipal boundary. There is compulsory education.

The date given by Cunningham is respect of its establishment is wrong. It was founded afresh in 1639 by Shree Kashinath Adhikari, the governor of the state of Kumaun. After him his son or grandson Shri Shivnath Adhikari was its governor till 1744. In 1745 Pt. Shivdev Joshi built a fort in Kashipur and appointed Pt. Hariram Joshi as its *lat* (governor) and *bakshi* (commander-in-chief). On his not discharging his duties properly, he appointed in his place Shri Shiromani Das as its governor. After him his sons, Nandram and Hargovind were successively appointed as governors. They, betraying the king of Kumaun, made peace with the *nawab* of Awadh. In 1814 when the English came here, king Shivlal, the son of Hargovind, was the ruler and *zamindar* of this place. He lived in a

fort. He was killed during the mutiny. His queen, Bhavani, performed *sati*. In her name there is a monastery, named Ranibhavani Math. The ancestors of the kings of Kashipur formerly lived in the fort of Rudrapur. In 1840 having acquired land from the Pande *zamindars* they built a bungalow here. King Shivraj Singh has been an illustrious man. Both among the subjects and the kings he commanded respect. He helped the English in the Mutiny of 1857 for which he got the title of C.I.E. He was also a member of the council of the Governor General. His palace was located near Talkatora and his garden behind the palace; both were worth seeing. On *Vijayadashami* day his procession, like that of crowned kings, was taken out. The Shivraj Sanskrit Pathshala of Almora established after his name still exits. The present hospital also has been built by his generosity. Sri Gumani Pant, the famous poet of Kurmachal was born at Kashipur. He has described Kashipur in a highly pleasing language :

कथावाले सरते फिरत धर पोथी बगल में।
लई थैली गोली घर-घर हकीमी सब करैं।।
रंगीला-सा पत्रा कर धरत जोशी सब बने।
अजब देखा काशीपुर शहर सारे जगत में।।१।।
जहाँ पूरी गरमा-गरम, तरकारी चटपटी।
दही बूरा दोने भर-भर भले ब्राहम्ण छकें।।
छहे न्यौतेवारे सुनकर अठारे बढ़ गए।
अजब देखा काशीपुर शहर सारे जगत में।।२।।
जहाँ ढेला नद्‌दी ढिग रहत मेला दिन छिपे।
जहाँ पट्‌ठी पातुर झलकत परी-सी महल में।।
तले ठोकर खाते फिरत सब गब गलिन में।
अजब देखा काशीपुर शहर सारे जगत में।।३।।
कदी जसपुर पट्‌टी फिरकर कदी तो चिलकिया।
कदी घर में सोते भर नयन भोरे उठ चले।।
सभी टट्‌ट लादें पनज रुजगारी सब बनें।
अजब देखा काशीपुर शहर सारे जगत में।।४।।
यहाँ ढेला नद्‌दी उत बहत गंगा निकट में।
यहाँ भोला मोटेश्वर रहत विश्वेश्वर वहाँ।।
यहाँ संडे दंडे कर धर फिरें साँड उत ही।
फरक़ क्या है काशीपुर शहर काशी नगर में।।५।।

33. History of Tarai

It is indisputable that the Katyuri kings had their jurisdiction over Tarai. Hieun Tsang has made a reference to the kingdom of Govishan but has not written as to who ruled there, except this much that the king resided on the mountain and his representative or governor in Kashipur. *Jagarias* (a type of bards) say :

"आसन वाका बासन वाका सिंहासन वाका वाका ब्रह्मवाका लखनपुर"

In this verse Brahm and Lakhanpur have been mentioned. Brahmapur was the kingdom of the Katyuris and Lakhanpur was its capital. This Lakhanpur may be identified with the Lakhanpur of Pali Pachhaun. It lies to the north of Govishan (Kashipur). This very thing has been indicated in Hieun Tsang's map. Lakhanpur was the summer capital and Dhikuli, the winter capital. But nothing more is known about these kings. In Nevill's *Gazetteer of Nainital* it is written, "At the time of the establishment of Muslim empire, kings of Kumaun were in independent possession of Tarai. They were not sub-ordinate to any king of the plains. So it is doubtless that Tarai was in the possession of the Katyuri kings." Hilly people since time immemorial have been, in winters, coming down to Tarai Bhavar which is mostly inhabited by them. During the days of Katyuris, Tarai was thickly populated. Pillars and ruins of that time are found in abundance. But the detailed description of the population of Tarai Bhavar is known to us since the 15th century. In the 16th century there was a thick population here.

34. Kather alias Rohilkhand

History of Tarai has been available from Kather alias Rohikhand. The former name of Rohilkhand was Kather. There was a big forest and *Ahirs* lived there. Then the name of Bareilly was Tappa Ahiran and Ahirs were its master. They were highly militant. When Timur captured India he sent Khadga Singh and Raja Hari Singh, the kings of Tirhut to crush them. These kings belonged to Kather clan. So after their name this region came to be called Kather or Kathaid. Later on, when the Rohilas arrived here it came to be called Rohilkhand. Some of the Kathers settled down in Puvayan, Kharal, Kath and Gola. The former name of Shahjahanpur was Kath and Gola. Later on after the name of Shahjahan it came to be called Shahjahanpur. Some of them settled

down in Chaupala which after the name of Murad, Shahjahan's son, came to be called Moradabad. The present Kathghar is another form of Kather, because king Narpati Singh Katheria lived there. Among Katheri Rajputs there were two brothers—Basudeo and Baraldeo after whose joint name the town Bansbareilly was founded. The capital of Katheri Rajputs was in Lakhnaur.

In 1380 Katheria king Khadgu killed Sayyed Muhammad Din, the *nawab* of Badaun. When Sultan Firoz Tughlag attacked him, he fled to Tarai. There the Mahtas of Kumaun helped him. In 1418 Sultan Khizra Khan defeated king Hari Singh and drove him across Ramganga but being afraid of hills he returned. So Katheria Rajputs being oppressed by the Muslims of the (plains) wanted to take shelter in Tarai and started encroaching it. In 1367 king Garud Jnanchand went to Delhi court and told the Sultan that the Tarai region since very long had been under the possession of the Kumauni kings, so they should have their right intact over it. Sultan accorded him a cordial welcome and granted him the rulership of the region upto the Ganga.

A few days later the *nawab* of Sambal snatched away the lower part of Bhavar but the brave commander Nilu Kathayat drove away the Muslims from there. In 1489 king Kirti Chand built a fort near Jaspur in the *pargana* of Kashipur and named it Kirtipur.

In 1568 Hussain Khan Tukaria, the *nawab* of Kath and Gola captured Tarai Bhavar but did not enter the mountains. Then the king of Kumaun was looked upon as very wealthy. As noted in *Ferista* his kingdom extended from Tibet to Sambhal. Muslim historians have addressed Tarai Bhavar as 'Daman-Koh' or 'Daman-e-koh'. It is said that once Sultan Ibrahim, the commander of Akbar's army, had conquered it.

King Rudra Chand (*samvat* 1568-1597) raising an army of hill people drove away the Muslims from Tarai and in 1588 went to emperor Akbar and lodged a complaint about Tarai. The king proved his valour in the battle of Nagaur and the Kumauni army came out victorious. Therefore, Akbar again granted the *firman* of the *pargana* of Tarai Bhavar to the king. This very king Rudra Chand made a permanent settlement in Tarai Bhavar and in about 1600 founded the town of Rudrapur.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, written by Abul Fazl, a courtier of Emperor Akbar, the kingdom of Kumaun has been referred to as a province. In it the hilly region was not included. It is not known how Mr. Clay in his History of Nainital says that on account of poverty the king of Kumaun was exempted from *khiraj* on the mountain while the historians of the days of Emperor Akbar himself always wrote that the king of Kumaun was quite wealthy. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, the description of the state of Kumaun is given as follows : "After the kingdom of Badaun comes the kingdom of Kumaun. Persian writers have written it as Kamayun, not as Kumaun."

35. **Sarkar (State) of Kumaun**

(21 muhals)

Revenue - 40437700 *dams*

(One *dam* was equal to 1/40 rupee; so at the present rate of calculation the total revenue comes to Rs. 2021885.)

Adaun	400000 *dam*
Buksi and Buksa (two muhals)	400000 *dam*
Bastara	200000 *dam*
Panchotar	400000 *dam*
Bhikhandivar	200000 *dam*
Bhakti Bhuri	11000000 *dam*
Ratila	10025000 *dam*
Chataki	400000 *dam*
Jakaray	5000000 *dam*
Jayda	3000000 *dam*
Javan	250000 *dam*
Chaule of Chataki, Sehujpur, Gujarpur	
Dvarakot, Mulvare	250000 *dam*
Malachaur, Sitachaur, Kamaus or Kamus	5037700 *dam*

This province besides the above revenue had to give 3000 *sawars* and 50000 foot-soldiers.

From this it appears that then Kumaun—a *sarkar* of Akbar-extended probably from Dehradun to the other side of Kali. Out of these other *muhals* are in Pilibhit, Kheri, Bareilly, Rampur, Moradabad, Bijnaur and Dehradun. Only these regions are said to be in Kumaun.

1. Buksi or Buksa—Its present name also is Buksad. The regions of Rudrapur and Kilpuri are included in it.
2. Sehujpur, Sahajgarh- present Jaspur.
3. Gujirpur - now Gadarpur.
4. Sitahur, Sitachaur, Malachaur - perhaps Kota.
5. Chhakhata, Chorgalya and other regions of Bhavar. It is possible then the name of Kota might have been Sitachaur or Sitapur, which is now called Sitabani.
6. Bhakti Bhuri—It may be *baksi* which was the former name of Nanakmata.
7. Chauli or Chataki—It might be the name of Chinki which was also called Sarbana.
8. Kamaus or Kamus—Dr. D. Pant writes : "The limits of Akbar's empire were on the north bounded by Mount Imans (the Kumaun then spelt as Cumaunius", *The Commercial Policy of Moguls*, p.39.

The revenue of the regions of the present Kumaun included in Akbar's *sarkar* Kumaun, was about Rs. 173445/-

In the days of king Rudra Chand Tarai Bhavar was called *Chaurasimal* or *Naulakhiyamal* as this tract has been accepted to be 84 kos from Sharada to Pilibhit and its revenue then was nine lacs of rupees. The Naulakhiya Pandes of Patia were the cashiers of this place, and so they were called Naulakhiya. The following were the *parganas* of that time :

Then	*Now*
Sahajgir or Sahajgarh	Jaspur
Kilpuri	Rudrapur
Buksad	Rudrapur
Gadarpur	Gagarpur
Chinaki	Bilari
Baksi	Nanakmata
Mundia	Bajpur
Kota	In it the region of Kashipur was also included.

During the days of Bajbahadur Chand the region of Tarai Bhavar was highly populated. Even the English writers accept that from there actually Rs. 900000/- was collected in revenue.

In 1639 Kashinath Adhikari founded Kashipur. In 1651-52 the Kathedias encroached upon the villages of Tarai. In 1654 king Bajbahadur Chand went to Shahjahan in Delhi. In 1654-55 he was sent to the battle of Garhwal. For showing his valour there he was awarded the titles of *'Bhadur'* and *'Maharajadhiraj'* and received the grant (*sanad*) of *Chaurasimal*. Though he was called the king of Kumaun in *firmans* (royal edicts), he has generally been addressed as *zamindar*. Then even great kings and sovereigns were addressed as *zamindars*. King Bajbahadur Chand with the help of Rustam Khan (founder of Moradabad) having driven away the Kathedias from Tarai established his authority there and founded the town of Bajpur which still exists. Later on, owing to the establishment of a hospital here, it is also called Shafakhana. In the days of Bajbahadur the rulers of Tarai Bhavar lived in Rudrapur and Bajpur during winters and came over to Kota and Badakhedi in summers. But Kota was the capital of the sovereign rulers. The police administration was in the hands of Hedi and Mevati people. They were Muslims and had come from Rajputana (Mevatis might have been the descendants of the present Mevas who in 1934 had mutinied in Alwar). King Udyot Chand planted mango orchards at many places in Tarai. He took keen interest in cultivation there. The income during the time of Raja Jagat Chand also was Rs. 900000/-.

In 1723 king Devi Chand founded the town of Devipur in Kota and also built a palace there. After this Gaidaism and Joshism started in Kumaun leading to the ruin of this region. In 1731 Mansur Ali Khan, the *nawab* of Awadh, captured the *parganas* of Sarbana and Bilari. So Sarbana is now included in the district of the Pilibhit. Pt. Shivdeo Joshi was appointed the governor of Bhavar and Pt. Ramdatt Adhikari that of Kota Bhavar. The Rohillas in 1743 occupied Kumaun and Bhavar for 7 months. They realised Rs. 300000/- as punitive tax from the king and left there after looting temples and the public. In 1745 they again came the second time but Shivdeo drove away Rajib Khan, the Rohilla leader, near the fort of Badakhoa. King Kalyan Chand taking along Shivdeo went to the emperor of Delhi and was again granted the certificate of restoration of Tarai Bhavar.

Safdarjang, the *nawab* of Awadh, again seized the region of Sarbana. Being wounded in the battle against Teju Gaud Chaklekar, Shivdev Joshi was kept imprisoned for one year in Bangla (Faizabad). On the written request of king Kalyan Chand to the emperor, Shivdeo was released. He built forts in Rudrapur and Kashipur in Tarai and appointed administrators there. The regions of Sarbana, Bilari and Dhaner were given to the family of Badvayak in *zamindari* and the Talladesh Bhavar was given to the Lulas.

In the days of king Dip Chand also Tarai was well populated. In 1777 when king Dip Chand was killed, king Mohan Chand made peace with Nandram, the governor of Kashipur. He established his authority in Tarai. Nandram made friends with the *nawab* of Awadh and making him still the master of Tarai, kicked off the *chhatra* (umbrella) of Kumaun. Till 1802 the nephews of Nandram were in possession of Tarai. Later on the English occupied it. The region of Bhavar always remained under the Kumaunis.

On the establishment of British rule the members of the family of the Chands did not get the throne. Later on they claimed that Tarai Bhavar was the ancestral estate of the Chands i.e. their personal property. The government did not accept even this. The family of king Lal Singh got 17 villages in Chanchat and some *zamindari* in the regions of Rudrapur and Kilpuri, but on account of mismanagement and non-payment of revenue the government ordered them to exchange their state. The Gorkhas did not rule long in Tarai. Though they held their authority in Bhavar, yet had lost it in Tarai.

When Tarai Bhavar came under the jurisdiction of the English, permanent settlement was made there. Indeed Mr. Ramsay effected the renovation of Bhavar. All the roads, canals and lawns were built in his days. The total management lay in his hands. He managed it as his personal property. The account of income and expenditure lay in his own hands, whatever was the saving he deposited it in the treasury. He spent according to his sweet will. Police, forest, sanitation, education, canal and agriculture--all was under him. No work could be undertaken without his permission. For 3 to 4 months in a year he lived in Bhavar.

First of all, the management of Tarai was undertaken by Macdonell, its first superintendent. He also enjoyed full rights. He

is said to be the nephew of Mr. Ramsay. Later on there arose a dispute between Ramsay and him. In Tarai even now the name of Macdonell is taken with respect. He had great sympathy for farmers, specially Tharus and Boksas.

The first canal engineer was Mr. Traill. Then the region of Tarai was in Bareilly. The first engineer of Tarai Bhavar was Mr. W. Crosswell.

In the days of the Chands it was a district which once was also called Madhydesh, Mal or Mathai ki Mal.

During the days of the English also once Tarai was a separate district but when the district Nainital was created, in 1891, Tarai was converted into one of its *parganas*.

Formerly the eastern *parganas* of Tarai, Khatima and Bilari etc. were included in Pilibhit. The middle *parganas* of Kichhaha and Kilpuri were included in Bareilly and the western *parganas* of Kashipur and Jaspur etc. were included in Moradabad.

Till 1831 the English did not pay any particular attention to Tarai. In 1831 Mr. Bolderson made a permanent settlement. Since then attention is being paid to this region. In 1851 Capt. Jones effected reforms relating to canals. In 1861 Tarai was made an independent district. Later on in 1870 this region was included in Kumaun.

36. **Markets (painth)**

In Tarai-Bhavar markets are held at many places. For example in Bhavar.

Place	*Day*
Haldwani	Tuesday
Chorgalya	Friday
Ramnagar	Friday & Wednesday
Kaladhungi	Friday
Bail Padev	Thursday
Anvalakot	Saturday

In Tarai

Place	*Day*
Kichhaha	Monday & Friday
Badha	Sunday & Wednesday
Daravo	Wednesday
Chakoti	Tuesday
Badakaheda	Sunday
Sakenian	Wednesday
Shafakhana	Monday
Sultanpur	Wednesday
Satarganj	Sunday & Thursday
Nanakmata	Monday & Friday
Haldua	Tuesday & Friday
Vijati	Wednesday & Saturday
Khatima	Tuesday & Friday
Majhaula	Monday & Thursday
Kashipur	Tuesday & Saturday
Raipur	Kotari Saturday
Mevakheda	Sunday
Bhavara	Thursday

37. **Facts about Bhot**

(1) *Darma*

The *pattis* Vyans and Chaudans also are included in Darma. The boundary of this *pargana* is as follows: In the east Kali Ganga, mountains of village Tinkar, Palamjung, Chhavangaru, Kalipani and Tara separate it from Nepal. In the south Askot and Ilangagad separate it from Askot. In the west lies the *pargana* of Johar. In the north, Navedanda and Lipudanda separate it from Tibet.

Panchchuli, Paljung, Tara, Lipu, Langa, Tinkar, Marmandhura and Nirpaniyan, are the mountain ranges.

Dauli, Rama, Nyaula, Galachhya, Sobala, Jyunti, Galagad and Kali are the rivers.

(2) *Vyans*

The boundary of this *patti* is co-terminus with Takalakhal of Tibet or Hundesh. The names of the bordering mountains are

Lipudhura, where Mahadeo Lipish is installed and (2) Taradhura where Tarakalay Shiva is installed. To the north of these mountains lie the mines of *haratal,* (yellow orpiment) *suhaga* (borax) and salt. It is said that a gold-mine also exists on that side. These mines are said to be in the possession of the Tibet government. Below the Tara mountain is located village Kalipani. In it there is Shyama Kund from which rises river Kali. On the bank of this very Kund sage Vyas had practised penance and so this *patti* has been named Vyas. From the mountain Mangshyang, above village Kuti, rises river Shyama. Shyama and Kali join each other near the villages of Gunji and Kava. Till Vyans was not included in Kumaun, its people to bask themselves in the sun used to come Chaundans. The *budhas* of Chauhans deposited Rs. 1700/- in the treasury of the Chand kings as a fee for sun basking. They were prohibited to come down to Gallagad, without taking prior permission. Between Vyans and Darma lies the bordering mountain Jyolanka. Above it is situated Lipidhura. The people of Vyans say that when it does not rain in their country they drop *sattu* in Shyama Kund. Regarding the *sattu* as defiled the Ganga pours down the rains to wash it away. Even now people there do so.

(3) *Chaudans*

In this *patti* Chaturdanstra Shiva is installed and so it is called Chaudans. Here the Bhotias of Hyanki family live. They say that formerly Chaudans was quite deserted. A man came down from the sky and inhabited it. The progency of the man greatly grew in number. For many generations milk, instead of blood, issued forth from the wounds on his body but later on blood issued forth. Hyankis regard themselves as the descendants of the man landing from the sky.

Between Darma and Johar lies Panchchuli, a mountain covered with snow. All its five peaks are visible from a great distance. They are said to be the five *chulis* (kitchens) of the Pandavas.

On their other side i.e. in Johar *patti* there are the two villages of Atasi and Balanti. It is said that formerly these villages were inside the pass (ghat) of Sunpati Sauka of Darma. People passed through it, while going from Johar to Tibet via village Shibu of Darma after crossing the mountains of Atasi and Balanti but now it lies covered

with snow. When it was open, it is said, it made the distance so short that a dog could reach the village Shibu friom Atasi and Balanti with hot bread in his mouth. From here emerge three currents—Nyave, Shibu and Panchachuli, which are famous as Dhauli Ganga.

Gods—Gabila, Chhipula and Hardyol are village-deities. They are worshipped thrice in the months of *kartik*, *bhadon* and *jeth*. Bhotia males, old women and girls go to worship them. Young ladies are not allowed to go there. In worship goats are killed and *jvann* (a type of wine) is offered and they prepare cakes and rice to eat. Having taken meat, cakes and rice and drunk wine they vigorously dance. The people of Vyans and Chaudans also worship Gabila and Chhipula in the like manner.

Trade and Commerce: The people of this place have been, for centuries, carrying on trade with the people of the Hundesh. Taklakot, Kardabhkot, Darchan and Garhtok are the trading markets. The biggest market is Garhtok. It is customary that the particular Bhotia whose brokerage has been settled with a particular Huna shall carry on his dealing with that Huna only; it was not possible to carry it on with others. If any thing was done against the custom, a suit was filed in the court of that region where the dispute had arisen. The older wholesaler got the decree in his favour. The agency was treated to be so permanent that Bhotias could even sell their agency to others who later on carried on business with him. Before business transactions start between the Huns and the Bhotias, they eat and drink together without any reservation. But in their talks with the Kumaunis, they regard themselves superior to the Huns. Business in animals such as goats and *jhupus* is carried on.

Only *kharif* crop is produced as at the time of *rabi* the land remains covered with snow. It snows heavily during winters. Rivers get frozen and the sound of their flow, which in summers and rainy seasons is heard upto miles, is not heard at all. When snow melts during summers big crevices are formed in which pedestrians often fall. So to save themselves they tie in their waist a wooden rod slantignly so that if they happen to fall, they might get stuck with its help. To save their eyes from the dazzle of the snow they prepare spectacles (*mungaras*) with the hair of chowry cows. In spite of the existence of so big a mountain of snow and also being the store-

house of the water of the whole of northern India, there is a peak of mountain here where there is no trace of water. It is called Nirpaniyan Dhura. While crossing it, as in Marwar, one has to carry water with him. The roads here are inaccessible. At places they have been constructed by cutting the mountains. They deserve appreciation who going through such difficult paths carry on the trade. At places gold is taken out by washing the soil at the banks of the rivers of this *pargana*. In this *pargana mansi, katuki, atis, jahar, ganthvala, dolu alias khetchini, jambu and gandrayani* are produced in abundance. Both the wild and domesticated animals like musk deer, chowry cows, jhupu, sheep and goats are found here. The birds like dafia, munala and lungi etc. are quite beautiful to look at.

From here a road goes to Kailas and Mansarovar. People generally go there in the company of the Bhotias who accord warm welcome to the pilgrims. Garvyang is the last English township in this pass.

(4) *Jivar alias Johar*

This *pargana*, full of beautiful, wild and dreadful scenes, also is contiguous with the Himalaya. In the north sky-scraping mountain ranges of the Himalaya separate it from Tibet. In its west lies Garhwal, in the east Darma and in the south Danpur and Sira. There are three *pattis*--Malla Johar, Talla Johar and Goriphat. The people of these *pattis* are said to belong to different castes. Formerly the two *pattis* probably might have been one, but during the Chand rule they were united into one *patti*. Joharis regard their country to be very great. They hold a story, "आधा संसार, आधा मुन्स्यार।" (i.e. in half the space God has located the villages of Munsyar or Johar and in the other half the rest of the world). To the side of the river Gori lies a snow-covered mountain which in the *Purans* is named as Jivar. On this account this *pargana* has been named Johar.

The names of the mountains here are: Untadhura, Lasardhura, Kolkang Dhura, Syangbil, Rogas, Bati ka Dhura, Khuniyan Dhura, Kalachhap, Shukadhura, Gufdhura, Mahanfaila, Nandadevi, Salangdanda, Barjikang, Lahachhu, Sankhdura, Bankatiya, Tirsul, Murchdanda, Kharsa, Hardeval and Hansaling. These big mountains always remain covered with snow. A number of big rivers of India have their sources here.

Rivers: Rivers rise from the *gala* (glaciers) of every mountain. The river is named after the name of the village through which it flows. The river flowing below the village Pachhu is called Pachhuganga. Among all these rivers Gori-ganga is most famous and all the rivers of Johar fall into it. This river joins Kali below Askot. In *Purans* it is named Gauri and is said to rise from the mountain Jivar. The names of the minor rivers are: Gunkha, Pachhuganga, Burfuganga, Bilajuganga, Martoliganga, Bogdyar, Laspaganga, Ralam, Radgadigad and Jamighat etc.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF JOHAR

Heresays prevalent regarding the establishment of Johar are quite interesting as well as surprising. These days no body even believes in such stories, but they have been referred to both by Mr. Atkinson and Pt. Rudradatt Pant, so we are narrating them here.

The story of Haldua and Pingalua: In Johar there goes a hearsay that formerly people of two factions lived here. The leader of one faction was Haldua and that of the other Pingalua. There was hair not only on the whole body of these two leaders and their descendants but also on their tongues. It is said that Malla Johar *patti* was divided half and half between these two leaders. The land above village (*mauja*) Mapa lay in the share of Haldua and the land below Mapa upto Lasapa in that of Pingalua. Then the pass (*ghata*) of Johar was not open. So no mutual commercial transactions were carried on between the Hunias (Lamas) and Haldua and Pingalua. They lived on the cultivation of *Chaulai* and *fafar*. Then a bird was born from the mountain, the source of river Gori. His wings were so big that when it flew over the river they at a place situated below village Lasapa, where the valley is narrow, used to get stuck there. So the bird from there returned upwards. It devoured men. It started devouring the children of Haldua and Pingalua and in the end devoured both the leaders also. Those days across Johar there lived a Shakiya Lama in Hundesh in a cave named Lapthil. In Hundesh Lama means a saint or a sage. This Lama daily in the morning came flying to Lapthil from his cave and throughout the day sang the prayers of god and returned to his cave in the evening. There lived a man in his service. One day being pleased with him Lama said to him, "You go to Johar in the South, there a bird has

devoured all the men of the place, you kill it and inhabitate the country," again; I am giving you a bow and an arrow and also a guide. The guide may adopt any form but you should neither be nervous nor leave his company." Then the Lama deputed a disciple to accompany the servant. In front proceeded the disciple and the servant with bow and arrow, followed him. After covering a short distance the disciple turned into a dog and the place was named Khingaru. When the man went further with the dog, the latter became a *dolthang* (stag) and the place was named Dolthang. When he followed the stag for some distance more it changed into a *topidhu* (bear) and so the place was named Topidhung. The bear going a bit further adopted the form of a camel and so the place was named Untta or Untadhura. Later on going ahead it became a *dung* (tiger) and so the place was named Dung Udyar. At last the tiger on coming to the land of Haldua and Pingalua turned into *samgau* (hare) and disappeared. Till now that place is called Samgau. The man found every thing there but no human being, except heaps of human bones. Then he remembered the bird. When out of fear, he began to enter into a house he saw an old lady who had hair on her whole body. When asked she told him the whole story of Haldua and Pingalua. She said "Today is my turn, tomorrow you will be the victim, why have you come here to lose your life unnecessarily ?" Then the man told her all about Shakiya Lama and showing the bow and arrow said that he would kill the bird. When asked about Johar the old woman said, "Things like *chua*, *fafar*, and *lai* are produced here. Utensils, houses and all other things are available but there is no salt here." In the meantime the bird came with great gusto and carried away the old lady. As soon as it tore open her chest with its beak, the man killed it with his arrow. Then he kindled a fire at a place and said that if it kept burning till he came back the place would prove fruitful for him, otherwise not. He himself went back to enquire from Lama about salt who said to him "There are a number of salt-mines there but they lie far off for you. I am producing salt in Lapthil itself." Later on the Lama fetched a little salt and sowed it there. It is said that since then *sora* (soda) like salt, which animals lick, is always seen there. It is said since then the Lama did not fly out from his cave. Miraculous power, achieved through hard labour penance, comes to an end by showing miracles without divine permission. On account of doing the above act, the power of the Lama had come to an end.

When the Shakiya Lama had entered into the cave, the man came via Untadhura to the place where after killing the bird, he had kindled the fire. He found the fire burning. He collected people from hither and thither and settling them there introduced the worship of Shakiya Lama which continues even now. Since then these people are called Shauka. Among his descendants was born a brave man, Sunpati Shauka. He inhabited the region near Mandakini and opened up trade-routes. People say that none of his descendants survive now. These events took place before the days of the Katyuri kings.

When the line of the descendants of Sunpati came to an end, Johar was again deserted and the Tibetan passes closed down. Then the progenitor of the Milamvals came to Johar from the side of the Hundesh. It is described as follows: a certain Rajput came from the west and took service under the Garhwal king. He belonged to Ravat community. He got Jolagaon, in the *pargana* of Badhan, in *jagir*. There his progeny increased. One of their branches left village Gaula and for some years resided in Neti. Those days a king of Solar dynasty ruled at Garhtok in Hundesh. A Ravat was appointed under him as a servant. One day the Ravat while on hunting pursued an animal but it, when passing via Untadhura, became invisible near the confluence of rivers Gori and Gunkha. The Ravat being disappointed sat down there. Since then the place came to be known as Midum (mi=man+Dum=tired). Now it is called Milam and the residents of that place are called Milamval.

Ravat on his return to Gadhatok told every thing to the king. The king asked him to go and inhabitate the place and open up the roads and then he would get *Chhonkal* (tax) from the traders and wine to drink, food to eat and all other things for mailing and conveyance would be provided by the state. Ravat did everything accordingly. He himself settled down in Milam and rehabilated others such as Burfal, Jangpangi, Birjval and Mapal etc. in other villages. He also opened up trade routes for which till now they get commission from Tibet. Joharis also give food and wine etc. to an officer or a Huniya coming from the Hundesh and also pay some amount by way of revenue to the Huniya kings. The Joharis had to submit also a *muchalka* (agreement) in the Tibetan court. When the representatives of the Tibetan king came to Milam, they asked these questions:

1. Is there or not any disease in Johar ?
2. Is there or not any war from the side of an enemy ?
3. Is there prosperity or famine ?

Correct answers to them were to be given. If a Johari practised deceit in giving answers he was punished. The agreement is called *gamagiya.* In it a stone is broken into two pieces and after weighing each of them is wrapped in a paper and is signed and sealed. One piece remains with the Joharis and the other with the Huniyas. On acting against the agreement the defaulter had to deposit as fine, gold weighing equal to the stone.

These things are of 1835. From the manuscript of the autobiography of Nain Singh Pandit C.I.E. written in 1883 we publish the following facts :

"The Milamvals have originated from the Kshatriyas of Panvar family of Dhara. When the Panvar family expanded some of them went to Butaulgarh near Haridvar and come to be called Butaula Ravats. Some of them came and settled down in villages (*maujas*) Jvala and Solan, in the *pargana* Badhana of Garhwal. From them Dham Singh Ravat and Hiru Ravat came on a pilgrimage to Badrinath. Hiru Ravat settled down at Painkhand in district Garhwal. Dham Singh was appointed Commander under Botchhyogal, king of Garhtok. He defeated Lachhakhis and drove them out from the regions of Angari Kursam. For this great service king Botchhyogal authorised Dham Singh Ravat to realise taxes like *thaptang*, *taul* and *chhaunkal* etc. from villages Dongapu, Dava, Khinglung and Dokthol etc. In Tibetan Thoptang means *khana* and *bardaish. Taul* means giving horses free of charge for the work of the state. *Chhaunkal* is the commission that a loyal government servant gets from the taxes on trade. From all these Dham Singh Ravat had a good income. Later on under the orders of the king he came to village Milam on this side of the Himalaya and settled down there. Then only three villages in Johar were inhabitated—Burfal Jangpangi in Burfu, Lvanl in Lvan, Ralamval in Ralam. There was neither so much trade nor so many sheep and goats. People came to Askot and took ears of paddy and showing them to women said that they had visited the *Mal* (plains). People there were simple and upright. Marriages of young boys and girls were not preformed. When they on attaining youth, stayed together and got intimate with each other, they were married.

The Charakhmiyan Jangpangis of village Burfu say that they are Nagvanshis. The ancestor of Jangpangi Burfals was Galiya Kala. His wife along with her two sons lived in Gvad at the upper end of river Burf. Accidently a serpent happened to come there. It is said that by the powers of his vision a son was born to the woman.

In the days of Vikram, the Shakas of the country of Tatar invaded this country. King Vikramaditya defeated them and thus came to be called Shakari. These Shakas worshipped serpent which was their royal and religious symbol. It is possible that a certain man from these Nagvanshi Shakas had established *niyog* or married the wife of Galiya Kala. Before the arrival of Dham Singh to Johar its population was quite thin. After Milam villages Bilju, Mapa and Martoli were inhabited.

In the beginning trade also was very little. People carried grains loaded on only a few sheep and goats and sold them in villages Khinglung, Dongpu etc. of Hundesh and in exchange brought gold and wool. One tenth part of the trade-proceeds was to be given to the ruler of Tibet. Dham Singh Ravat by requesting king Botchhyogal of Solar dynasty got this tax excused, so the people of Johar do not pay this tax. People of Niti, Mana and Darma have to pay it even now.

It is said that king Botchhyogal was a king of Solar dynasty. In Tibetan a king who follows Buddhism is called Botchhyogal. Then Tibet was not under China. There were petty principalities there. This king did not belong to Hundesh but was an Indian. So he in his very life-time handed over his kingdom of Angari Kursum to the Lama of Tibet and himself entered in *samadhi*. Dham Singh became the head of the whole of Johar.

In *samvat* 1595 king Bajbahadur Chand went upto Takalakhar, Mansarovar and Kailas etc. in Tibet via Johar and returned to his capital Almora via Vyans. Bhadubudha and Loru Biljval accompanied him as guides. He gave them certain villages such as Pachhu Naka, Bui Patun, Dhapa and Teli Mavajat as a *jagir*. Loru Biljval got Koshyari Bada.

In 1735 A.D. King Dipchand gave the *jagir* of the villages of Golma and Kotalgaon to Dhamabudha. In 1741 A.D. king Mohan

Chand also gave him the *jagirs* of Kuinthi, Shaimali, Kheti, Talla Bhainskot and Girgaon.

In the time of Jaspalbudha the Gorkhas seized the kingdom of the Chands. Jaspal had always been inviting the Chands. For ten years he did not surrender this *pargana* to the Nepalese. There was a fierce battle. A number of Joharis and Gorkhas were slain. Then Harshdeo Joshi attacked Johar on behalf of Nepal. Hiding the soldiers below, he came to Johar under some pretext. Jaspalbudha shackled and kept him imprisoned and later, on getting promise from the Chand king not to kill him, set him free.

In the meantime the kingdom of Nepal, had extended not only in Kumaun but expanded upto Kangra. The turban of Budhachari came from the Nepal court in the name of Vijay Singh, the son of Jaspal but the governmental revenue being raised by stages was fixed at Rs.16000/-. The subjects got greatly vexed. In 1810 A.D. Vijay Singh went to Nepal and got the revenue reduced to 7800/-. In August 1812 A.D. Mr. Muir Craft was caught at Dava, in Tibet. Debubudha got him freed by depositing a security of Rs.10000/-.

According to the copper plate of 1798 A.D. of Budha Bamshah Chauntaria, the *subedar* (provincial governor) of the king of Nepal, the *jagirs* of 12 villages were in the name of Dhamabudha, son of Jaspalbudha. In 1815 A.D. Kumaun passed into the hands of the English. The first Commissioner Col. Gardner leaving 12 villages in *jagir* fixed the revenue of the remaining 28 villages of Johar at Rs.5001/-. In 1821 A.D. Mr. Traill cancelled the rights on all the *jagirs* leaving only one village Pachhu as freehold.

The peaks in this region are always snow-clad. When in winters it snows all around, all the Bhotias move downwards. The Himalaya is the store-house of water. All the big rivers of northern India arise from its glaciers. Here there are places also where at the time of moving people neither speak loudly nor produce sound from kettle-drums or guns, the reason being that at the slightest sound of gun, snow slides down and breaks and carries with it large pieces of mountains. At some places stones and earth keep continuously falling and pedestrians and animals are buried to death beneath them. So one has to move there quite consciously. Here people ride on hilly horses and mules. On *jhupus* and *chowry* cows also they ride and load goods.

Wool, grains, salt, and cloth etc. are loaded on sheep and goats. They while moving in herds in the mountains look most attractive. The Joharis procure these goats from places like Malla Danpur, Garhwal, Chamba and Beshahar etc.

Medicines such as *katuki, masi, gathia, zahar, atis and dolu* etc. are found here.

Among the animals musk-deer, *barad, barajia,* bear, *thaduabagh* and *hajl* (wild dogs) are found here.

Highly beautiful birds like *dafia, munala, lungi* etc. are also found here.

Mines: In Ralamdhura there is a mine of yellow orpiment. In Duddapani in front of Milamgaon there is a copper mine. On the bank of Gori-ganga and on the slopes of Milamgaon gold is found by washing the clay, but nowhere any gold-mine has been found.

Gods: In every village Nandadevi is installed. Besides, Sai and Raga are village gods. But of these two gods Sai is regarded higher. Once an enemy attacked Milam. It is said that then Sai god called out in a very loud voice "O the people of Milam ! run away, an enemy has attacked." Then all the people concealing their goods and cattle fled away and the enemy could do no harm. Since then regarding him as the highest god they offer one more goat to him.

38. **Gangoli**

Boundary: In its east, west and south are Ramganga and Sarayu. In the north lies the *pargana* of Danpur. While going to this place and to the *pargana* of Sor a very difficult and steep ascent is to be faced. Here there is an ascent and descent of 10 miles. Seeing the ascent which begins from Sarayu when a stranger asked how far was Gangolihat from there then a person replied :

रोल गाँव की सोल धार।
कहाँ हाट कहाँ बाजार।

He got so nervous that he went back. An English writer has written that the ascent of Sor Gangoli is like the English letter 'W'.

Sarayu, Ramganga, Nargul and Patalganga are the rivers here. So the Sanskrit name of this *pargana* is Gangavali i.e. land of Gangas or land between two Gangas.

Diyari, Merangdanda, Luvathaldhura, Jhaltola, Dhaulinag, Kalinag, Pingalnag and Beninag etc. are the mountains.

Gods and Goddesses : The temple of Kalika or Mahakali is built in the middle of a pine-forest to the east of Gangolihat. It is a very beautiful place. It is said that the goddess sometimes at night called out the name to Kirti Bageshvar Mahadeo in a loud voice. Whosoever heard that voice he instantly died. So the people of nearby places, being vexed, went to and settled down at distant places. Since the time Shankarachary came here and covered this goddess with a stone, the call of the goddess has stopped and people also started living there. Generally people come here on all the *ashtami* days but on *ashtamis* of *chaitra* and *kuar*, special fair is held here.

The seat of Goddess Mahishasurmardini lies here. It is said that Mahishasur fought against the goddess here in Gangoli in which many demons such as Mahishasur, Chandmund and Raktavirya etc. were killed.

Patalgânga is said to exist at the foot of the temple of Goddess Kali. One has first to climb a mountain and then enter the caves taking a *chhiluka* (rosen lamp) in his hand. Here wind blows hard and the river also flows fast; so much so that the wind puts out the lamp. If red or white clay is dissolved in the water, it comes out and becomes visible after two miles. The river flows under the cave. On the confluence of Sarayu and Ramganga, stands the temple of Rameshvar Mahadeo, said to be founded by Ramchandra. Here also a fair is held.

To the north of Gangolihat is installed Patalbhuvaneshvar. To reach it one has to walk a long distance inside a cave. People call it Tambakhan also. In the beginning the path is narrow but later on wider. There is also water inside. One has to go with a torch. There are a number of sub-caves. At one place Shiva and Parvati are seen gambling. The mouth of Garud is curved because when he was ready to defile nectar God hit him with his disc. It is said in the *Manaskhand* that through the path a dog went following a deer and in the end they reached Kashi.

In Koteshvar also Mahadeo is installed in a cave. Near Koteshvar two other temples of Pungeshvar and Chhideshvar stand. In Koteshvar a fair is held on *shivratri* and in the month of *kartik*. It is said that in Saniudyar sage Shandilya had practised penance. Where now a garden exists. The people of Johar refer to the existence of the *ashram* of sage Shandilya also in the vicinity of the glacier of river

Gori near Milam. About two miles away from Saniudyar there is the temple of Bhadrakali where on the day of Chaitrashtami a fair is held.

Pushkaria Pokhari: To the west of Ramganga there was a tank on the mountain. It was very big. So the village located in its neighbourhood was named Pokhari. It is said that once a Jat king also lived in Kumaun. He by cutting a drain in the mountain to the east of the tank drained out all its water. Now good cultivation is done there. The drain is said to exist even now. Above the tank there is a fortress on a *tibari*. On its four sides a ditch has been dug in the stone. This fortress is said to have been built by the Jat king. Near it stands the temple of goddess Chamunda. Presently this fortress is covered with grass and wild beasts live there. There is a very high mountain named Diari. There trees of snowy region such as *pangar* etc. grow. Musk-deer is also seen there. Below this very mountain on the banks of Sarayu and Ramganga there are sal-trees. To the north of this mountain there is a big copper-mine called Rai or Rajkhan. The second copper mine is in the west. Two copper mines exist in Athigaonpatti but out of all these mines three are big and one is small. People do not dig them deep but take out the mineral from the above. When stone is visible they do not dig further. In 1835 there was no bidder to offer Rs. 52/- for all these four mines.

In Athigaon, Badaun and Pungraun there are many temples of serpents as Kalinag, Beninag, Pingalnag, Dhaulnag, Feninag, Kharharinag and Athgulinag. They are worshipped here. When Krishna very much churned Yamuna and asked Kaliyanag to go away from there he told him that he was on inimical terms with Garud. Then Lord Krishna made a mark on his head and asked him to go away to snowy mountains. Kaliya came to Kumaun and along with him his courtiers Pingalnag and Dhaulnag also came here, they all came to be worshipped here (But in the *Bhagavat* it is said that he went to the island of Ramanak. It is not known where this island stood).

In Gangolihat there is an old *naula* called naula of Janhavi. It is built by a Raika king. Its water is good.

Crops: The land here is highly fertile. Jamol rice of this place is very sweet. *Ghee* and honey also produced here are good. Bananas and

oranges of this place are famous. Bee-keeping is done here in abundance.

The great poet Gumani by singing the great qualities of Gangavali, has made it immortal. Poets writing such beautiful poetry in Kurmachali language are rare in Kurmachal—

"केला, निम्बू अखोड़ दाड़िम रिखू नारिंग आदो दही।
खासो मात जमालिको कलकलो भूना गडेरी गवा।
च्यूड़ा सद्य उत्योल दूध बाकलो घ्यू गाय को दाणोदार।
खांनी सुन्दर मौणियाँ घबड़वा गंगावली रौणिया।।"

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"बने बने काफल किल्मड़ोछ, बाड़ा मणी दाड़िम काकोड़ छ।
गोठन में गोरू लैण बाखड़ोछ, थातिन में है उत्तम उप्रड़ोछ।।"

Ancient history: There is a fort named Jamankot which now lies deserted. People here say that there was a king of Palyal caste who ruled for a very short time. His descendants now are called Palyals of village Pali.

During the Katyuri rule the whole of Gangoli was ruled by a single king. The name of his capital and the fort was Mankot. The king also was called Mankoti. Only a few ruins of Mankot in the form of some broken houses, staircases and temples of gods exists now. The kings of this dynasty ruled for eight generations. They also belonged to Lunar dyansty. Later on the Chand kings defeated them and annexed their kingdom to Kumaun. They went away to a place named Piuthana in Nepal. Even now their descendants live there. To the west of Mankot, there was a market named Gangolihat which even today is called by the same name. Even now there is a small market, a post office, a dak bungalow and also a middle school.

Tigers are found here in abundance. A story also goes: "खत्याड़ी साग, गंगोली बाघ।" Formerly the people here were so simple that they were more afraid of government orderlies than of tigers. But now the people here are mostly scholars, wealthy and virtuous and work on high posts inside the country and abroad. A sage named Baba Lakshman Jangam lives here. He has also opened a Sanskrit school.

The main places of Gangoli are Beninag and Gangolihat. The smaller places are: Chaukodi, Dharmaghar, Jhaltola, Kanda and

Saniudyar. In Kanda there is an old middle school. Now there are middle schools in Beninag and Gangoli also. Dak bungalows and shops also are there.

39. Chaugarkha

This *pargana* is situated in the middle of Gangoli, Kali Kumaun, Baramandal and Katyur. Its *pattis* are Rithagad, Lakhanpur, Darun, Rangod, Salam and Kharhi.

Mountains: Jageshvar, Binsar and Mornaula are the high mountains.

Rivers: In the east is Sarayu and in Salam Panar. On washing the clay of Panar gold is got. River Sual also flows touching its boundary.

Gods: There are many gods in Jageshvar. So goes a story :

"देवता देखण जागेश्वर,
गंगा नाणी बागेश्वर।"

(One who wants to see a number of gods should go to Jageshvar and one who wants to bathe in Ganga should go to Bageshvar). It is the place of Shiva's penance. After destroying the sacrifice of Daksha Prajapati and besmearing his body with the ashes of Sati, Shiva practised penance here in Jhankarsaim. There are two temples in Jageshvar, the first, the temple of Briddh Jageshvar, is located on a peak and the second, that of Tarun Jageshvar in a thick grove of pine-trees. It is one of the twelve *Jyotirlings* installed by Lord Vishnu. In this temple ornaments and utensils etc. made of gold and silver existed in good quantity. During the days of the Chand kings once an inventory of nine lacs was prepared. There is a brass statue in this temple; said to be of king Paun. He is said to have been an ancient king who ruled in Kumaun and Garhwal. It is said that this very king built the temple of Gopeshvar in Garhwal. The statue of King Dip Chand also is said to exist here. King Paun was one of the Katyuri kings. It is said that Swami Shankaracharya covered the temple of Mrityunjay Mahadeo here.

In the temple of Pushtidevi also there were ornaments worth lacs. The kings utilised them and in exchange gave villages.

The temple of Dandishvar Shiva is very old ; now it is in ruins. Above the temple, in the thickets of pine-trees, there is Jhankarsaim where Shiva practised penance. Here also a fair is held.

Generally the bodies of Chand kings on their death were burnt at this holy place and along with them their queens also, not 1 or 2 but sometimes 8-10 burnt themselves alive. Here on *Chaturdashi* fair is also held twice. It is said that the temple of Shiva here was built by Katyuri king Shalivahandeo.

Mines: In Salam in village Kuri Pali, in Rangod in villages Madam, Chahla, Pokhari, Nirtoli, Bana and Selainger; in Lakhanpur in villages Bhare, Sali, Chami, Madya, Toli and Lohgad, in Darunpatti in villages Chalathi, Khairagad, Madam, Ghurkunda, Gorada, Kafali, Magarau and Pokhari, in Kharahi in villages Loh, Mirauli and Paldi, there are a number of iron-mines. From some places lead-stone is also taken out. In Kharahi, at two places, there are mines of copper and glass but they all are lying deserted.

In this *pargana* bronchocele is quite common. There was a fort named Padyarkot on a high mountain. In it lived a king of the Padyar community. He was the master of the *pargana*. The Chand kings snatched away Chaugarkha from the Padyars.

In this *pargana* at places Rajis now called Rauts, also lived.

Bhang and *charas* of this place are famous. *Bhanga* and *ghee* also are produced in abundance. The *vasmati* rice of Salam is well known.

Palitayyan, Dhaulchhina, Badechhina, Panuannaula, Jageshvar and Naini are the main halting places (*padavs*) here where there are small townships, shops and dakbungalows. In Panuannaula Mai Chakravarti and sage Krishn Prem Vairagi have founded Uttar Vrindavan 2-3 years back.

40. Baramandal

This *pargana* lies in the middle of Katyur, Pali, Faldakot, Kutauli and Mahrudi. Its old 12 *mandals* were as under: (1) Syunara (2) Mahrudi, (3) Tikhaun (4) Kaligad (5) Baurarau (6) Kaidarau (7) Athaguli (8) Riuni (9) Dvarsaun (10) Khasparja (11) Uchyur (12) Bisaut. So this *pargana* came to be called Barah Mandal, twelve feudatory kings ruled over these *mandals*.

Khasparaja is derived thus. It is said that selected *kardars* (officers) of the Chand kings lived here, so this *pargana* came to be called Khasparja.

Binsar, Gannath, Pinath, Bhatkot, Syai, Banani, Aaiddyo and Kalmatia are the big mountains.

Gods: Pingnath, Gannath, Someshvar and Shukeshvar are Mahadeo. There is a sun-temple named Badaditya at Katarmal. Shyama alias Syahi, and Brinda alias Banani are goddesses. Badarinath of Bayala and Badarinath of Kunvali are Vishnu-temples. There are also temples of many other gods. The sun temple of Badaditya was built by Katyuri king Katarmalldeo, of Solar dynasty.

To clean the utensils of the temple sour grass named milmoda (almoda, chalmoda, bhilmoda, kilmoda etc. sour grass) was daily brought to Katarmall by the older inhabitants of Khasiyakhola, also known as Almodias. The village of the people of Khas community existed at the place where now the town of Almora, previously called Khasiya Khola and now Upretikhola, is located. On account of carrying almoda grass they came to be called Almodias and after them this town came to known as Almora.

ALMORA

Before the establishment of Almora town, this place was under the possession of Katyuri king Baichaldeo. He gave away a major part of the land in donation of Sri Chand Tewari, a Gujrati brahmin. Later on when the Chand kingdom was founded in Baramandal and Chand kings separated the land of Shri Chand by measurement and on the remaining land built their palaces and houses for the citizens. The town of Almora was founded at this place owing to its location in the centre of the Chand Kingdom. But there is hearsay also. When in 1560 king Kalyan Chand came on a hunting expedition to the hills of Almora he saw a hare who entering inside Almora turned into a tiger. On this the astrologers said that this land was powerful like a lion and so if a town was founded here enemies would be as afraid of its as people as afraid of a lion. So the foundation of the town was laid here. The iron-bar reached down to the head of Sheshnag. Well-versed men said that the kingdom would be permanent, but the king became a victim of an apprehension, though when the iron-nail was pulled out blood stuck to it. On this the astrologers said that as the nail had been pulled out so now this kingdom would not remain stable. The mountain on which the town of Almora is located is described in the *Manaskhand* as follows :

कौशिकी शाल्मली मध्ये पुण्यः काषाय पर्वतः ।
तस्य पश्चिम भागे वै क्षेत्र विष्णो प्रतिष्ठितम् ।।

(*Manaskhanda* —Chapter 2)

In the days of the Chand Kings it was called Rajapur. In a number of copper plates also Rajapur is written. Almora is situated on the back of a mountain. Its height is, from 5200' to 5500'. The height of the prison is 5439'; of the Church 5495'; of Kalimati 6414' and of Shimatola 6066'. It is a highly playful and gay place. It has two parts : (1) Tailifat and (2) Selifat.

There is a 1.25 mile long market covered with stone slabs. In the place of the present cantonment, formerly Lalmandi was located. A fort, a tank and a temple also existed there. The fort known as Lalmandi, is now called Fort Moira. In the days of Lord Moira the town and the fort came under the possession of the English and so their names were changed. Presently where the court exists, the Malla palace of the Chand kings was located and where at present are a hospital and the mission school, there stood, their Talla palace, Later on a lock-up also was housed in the Talla Palace. The great poet Gumani says :

विश्नु का देवाल उखाड़ा, ऊपर बँगला बना खरा ।
महाराज का महल ढवाया, बेड़ीखाना तहाँ धरा ।।
मल्ले महल उड़ाई नंदा, बंगलों से भी तहाँ भरा ।
अंग्रेजों ने अल्मोड़े का नक्शा और ही और करा ।

The main *muhallas* (wards) of Almora are as follows:

Of the market: Lala Bazar, Karkhana Bazar, Khajanchi Muhalla (formerly Khauki muhalla), Sunar *alias* Jauhari Muhalla, Malli Bazar and Thana Bazar.

Selifat: Joshikhola, Shelakhola, Dyodhipokhar, Thapalia, Kholta, Champanaula, Guranikhola, Chaunsar, Galli, Karadiyakhola, Kapina, Paniudyar, Ranidhana, Chaudharikhola, Pokharkhali, Jhijad and Kasun.

Tailifat: Chinakhan, Makidi, Dharanaula, Chandani Chowk (ancient Vishtakuda), Tyunara, Danya, Bansbhida, Upretikhola (Khasiya-khola), Badekhola, Dubkiya, Nayalkhola, Tiruvakhola, Dugalkhola and Tamtyuda etc.

These *muhallas* are mostly named after the communities that inhabited them.

Formerly the commissioner resided here, but later on began to live at Nainital. Besides the court of District Officer, there are the offices of octroi and district board. The octroi board was first of all established in 1851 A.D. Formerly the members were appointed by the government. The system of election was introduced in 1898 A.D. and the first election was held in 1899 A.D. The first non-government chairman was elected in 1911 A.D.

In 1890-91 A.D. the total income was Rs. 7314, now it is more than Rs. 60000/-. Till 1910 A.D. there used to be government chairman but now there is non-government chairman who administers it with the advice of the 11-membered committee. Formerly the district board also was a government institution but since 1823 A.D. it has been handed over to non-government chairman. Now there is a 24 members board with whose advice the administration is carried on. In 1891-92 A.D. the income of the board was Rs. 197146/- and the expenditure also was the same. Now the income and expenditure have risen to about 4.25 lacs.

Gorkha Platoon: After subduing Almora, officers and soldiers of the English army till 1839 A.D. lived in Hawalbagh. As it is only 3920' high ' its climates was not thought to be good. So later on the offices shifted from there to Almora and the army was shifted to Lohaghat and Pithoragarh. Now the third Gorkha platoon was raised in Haldwani in 1815 A.D. and was called Nizamat Battalion. Subba Jaykrishn Upreti recruited a good number of Kumaunese in it. This battalion was under the command of the commissioner of Kumaun and performed polling duties also. Later on it came to be called Kumaun Battalion. In 1846 A.D. it was shifted from Lohaghat and Pithoragarh to Lalmandi (Fort Moira). In 1850 A.D. civil duties were taken away from it, the Kumaunis were separated from it and it came to be called Gorkha platoon. Almora was made its headquarter. It showed its bravery in a number of battles.

Formerly there were 360 *naulas* (springs of water) here but many of these have now dried up. *Naulas* of Ranidhara, Rajnauli, Ramphanaula, Champanaula and Kapina are well-known. In 1874 Mr. Lumsdon and Mr. Batton brought water here from the forest of

Baldhoti by means of metalled drains. Lala Motiram Sah built Motiadhara. In 1884 A.D. by the efforts of Raibahadur Pt. Badridatt Joshi, *sadar amin*, water was brought from Sail by means of pipes. For this some subscriptions was raised and the rest was met by the *sadar amin*.

In 1892 A.D. water for the second time was brought from Nail. It was used for the platoon. Between 1904 A.D. and 1907 A.D. water was brought here for the third time. In 1929-30 A.D. by the efforts of Raibahadur Pt. Dharmanand Joshi, the then chairman, water was brought from Syahidevi by means of pipes. Still there is scarcity of water during summers. Water from Syahidevi came to the town on 26.4.1932.

Besides the Almora Court, other big public buildings are post office (1905), government college (1891), dakbungalow, Ramsay House, Shivaraj Sanskrit Pathshala, public library, Ramsay High School, Town School, Normal School, Mission Girls School, Rajput Night School, Kundan Memorial House and Lachhiram Theatre etc. The new Almora Hospital was established in 1901 A.D. Its day to day expenditure is mostly met by the district board but octroi board also contributes a little. The women hospital was opened in 1927 A.D.

Shivaraj Sanskrit Pathshala, Library and Badrishvar were built by late Rai Pt. Badridatt Joshi of Danya. The Thakurdvara was built by Lala Kundanlal Sah.

Near Almora lies the forest of Baldhauti which formerly was government reserved forest. Now its 6 compartments are managed by the octroi board. In Narayan Tewari there was only a temple; now there is a good market.

From a mine below the forest of Baldhauti very beautiful stone for use in roofs and courtyards is taken out. It is said that in 1815 A.D. a living frog had come out from the fold of a *patal*.

In Sitoli, at present, there is a government reserved forest. There is also a Gorkha fortress from which in 1814 A.D. they fought against the English. There are graves of two English men who were killed in the Gorkha war. On them names of Lt. Tiplay and Lt. Kirk are engaraved. Mr. Tiplay was killed in Almora on

April 26, 1815 A.D. and Mr. Kirk had died of wounds and exhaustion on May 16, 1815 A.D.

Syunara: Formerly there was a *patti* named Syunara. Now there are two *pattis*. The ancient king of this patti belonged to the Syunari community. His fort named Syunarakot, still stands on a mound. Under it by cutting stones a tunnel is built into a river. It was a passage to carry water from there. The Katyuri kings were the overlords of this king. Later on Syunara was annexed to the Chand kingdom.

Tikhaun: The king of Tikhaun was Tikhaini. His fort Tikhaunkot was situated on a high peak. Formerly he was a feudatory king under the Katyuris. Later on while fighting against the Chands, he was killed. Once a guard of village Rankhil captured the fort of Tikhaun and collecting a small army proclaimed himself as its king. A small army of the Chands went to attack Tikhaun but being defeated in the battle came back. Later on the Chilvals of village Pankot, with the permission of the Chands, fought against the guard king. They stopped the supply of water to his army. Without water the army was greatly harassed. In this way the Chilvals killed the guard and Tikhaunkot again came under the possession of the Chand Kings. The story of stopping the supply of water goes as follows : When the leader of the Chilvals being tired was sleeping on the ground, he heard the sound of the flow of water. When he dug the place, he found a drain of water there. He broke it. For this act of bravery and loyalty the Chilvals got the post of *kaminchari* in Tikhaunpatti and it still continues.

Aedi Devata: In this *patti* Aididyo is a very high mountain. On it there is a temple of god Aidi. The temple of goddess Shyama is also located in this very *patti*.

Baurarau and Kaidarau: To these *pattis* the Chand kings brought the people of Baura and Kaida communities from Kali Kumaun and offering them the posts of *kamin* settled them down here. So these two pattis are named as Baurarau [Rau (tank) of Baura] and Kaidarau (Rau of Kaida). It is said that formerly there were tanks in these two *pattis*. When the tanks existed this region was inhabited. The former name of Baurarau was Raugad.

Riuni-dvarson was formerly not a separate *patti*. It is said formerly labourers lived there. Now this *patti* is full of great merchants and money lenders. When in Rthaguli no inhabitant of the older Khas community remained, the Bhandaris and Pindaris being summoned from other regions were settled down there.

In Bisaut patti, there was a fort named Bisautkot. The feudatory king belonged to Bisauti community. Now his descendants do not exist there. Bilwals and Nayals having been summoned from other places have been settled down here. These two communities from the very beginning are well-known for the art of soldiery. They are counted as brave soldiers. At the end of this *patti* there is the temple of Kapileshvar, named after sage Kapil.

In Uchyur patti Uchyauras are an old community. Since the time the court of the Chand kingdom was held in Almora, these people have been recruited as soldiers.

Khasparaja patti has been founded by the Chands. When the capital of the Chands was shifted to Almora they for their day to day private work separated the villages of Khasparaja from other *pattis*. The people living here were the private employees of the royal court.

Before the arrival of the Chands in Almora two kings resided on its two sides (1) To the south is the fort named Khagmara. In it was housed the palace of one of the Katyuri kings Baichaldeo alias Baijaldeo. This king ruled over some region of Baramandal. Later on a Chand king defeated him and captured Baramandal. (2) To the north-west, at the end of a mountain, there existed Railakot, the palace of a king of Raila community in which, it is said crystal-pillars had been fitted. Even now its ruins are to be seen. The descendants of Raila were present till the arrival of the Chands in Almora. A Chand king harassed and ruined them. He ordered Raila to supply daily a pair of living partridges. This was fixed as a state-tax on him. The condition was that he would be heavily punished on the day when a pair of partridges would not be supplied. On account of the fear men, women and children of Raila to catch partridges moved about in the forests and bushes. On account of this plight and labour those poor people were ruined. Thus there remained neither their kingdom nor their family.

In Almora there is a peak named Hiradungari. There is an old saying that a jeweller once came to the Chand court and filed a petition to allow him to dig out diamond from this mountain, but it was rejected. Some say that formerly people had seen a shining gem here. A jewel serpent also was said to live there. Now there stands the good buildings of the mission.

To the north of Almora in mountain Kalmatia ; there was located the armoury of the Chand kings. When Pt. Shree Vallabh Pandey came here from Kannauj, the state-functionaries in fun, gave him iron-bars, instead of wood, to perform *hom*. He was expert in *tantra*. It is said that he offered the iron-rods in the fire by which the whole mountain was burnt and turned black. Since then it came to be known as Kalmatia.

Now on this peak there are the temples of Kashayeshvar Mahadeo and a Devi, said to have been built by Late Chaudhary Chetram Pradhan.

In Malla Syunara, at Amkholi there was a small town of the days of the Katyuris, the ruins of which now exist there. The temple of Ambikeshvar Mahadeo and a *naula* (now broken) were also built by him. On the slope of the mountain Binsar, there is a broken temple of Kalbisht.

In Mountain Binsar lies the temple of Bineshvar Mahadeo. It was built by king Kalyan Chand who stayed there in summers. There is a little water near the temple. By cutting a *gool* (canal) the Bhakundis, of Bhakunda, wanted to take it to their village. At night Mahadeo told them in a dream that there was a little water, so they should not take it away, they would be supplied water in the slope of the mountain itself. The third day water automatically came out there. So this water is called 'water of boon' *i.e.* given by a god.

Formerly in Khali Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, on behalf of the Gandhi Seva Sangh opened a Shailashram which Mr. Pandit has now purchased.

The mountain of Gannath also is quite gay and attractive. There Vináyakthal is a level ground. Above it Gannath is installed in a cave. There are iron-mines also. The Gorkha Platoon was stationed here. The battle between the Gorkha and the English was fought here itself and the Gorkha Commander Hastidal was killed.

Famous politician Pt. Harshdeo breathed his last here. Pt. Shree Ballabh Upadhyay founded the Gannath monastery here. At present Pt. Harikrishna Pande has established a Sanskrit school and also an industrial workshop here.

In village Kaidarau, in Baramandal *patti*, there is a village Parkot. The *vaidyas* (physicians) of this place are famous from the beginning. Even now the *vaidyas* of the Pande family of this place live in Anupshahar. In making gods dance, *Parkota ki jadi* is pronounced which probably meant the medicine of the vaidyas of there.

To the east and west of Almora exist respectively the famous mountain and temples of Vananidevi and Shyamadevi which are like the body-guards of Almora. Near Shyamadevi (Syahidevi) Shitalakhet is a famous place. There also exists the Siddhashram and one or two gardens established by Baba Haidiyakhan. In 1932 here Nirmalvan Summer Camp of S.S. Boy Scout Association was opened. The scout Commissioner Mr. Bajpai said that the place was the most beautiful among all the places of the world he had seen.

41. **Pali Pachhaun**

This *pargana* is surrounded by Katyur, Baramandal, Faldakot, Kota and Garhwal. Jaurasi, Dronagiri, Manila, Nagarjun and Gujdudanda are the high mountains and Ramganga, Binau and Gagas are the rivers here.

Ramganga rising from Devalikhan, a mountain in Garhwal, flows through the middle of this *pargana.* On its bank lies the petty townships of Ganai, Masi and Bhikiyasain etc. Binau also rising from Garhwal joins Ramganga near Briddhkedar. Gagas rising from mountain Bhatkot joins Ramganga in Bhikiyasain.

Temples: Briddhakedar, Vibhandeshvar, Chitreshvar, Shrinatheshvar and Kedar etc. are Mahadeo. Narayan, Nagarjun and Badrinath are Vishnu. Shitala, Vaishnavi and Durga in Dronagir, Maniladevi, Bhuvaneshvari, Naithana and Agnidevi are goddesses.

It is said that the temples of Shitaladevi, Dronagiridevi and Vibhandeshvar Mahadeo were renovated by Swami Shankaracharya. The Katyuri kings installed Badrinath, Kedarnath and

Chandeshvar. In these temples below the idol of Badrinath *samvat* 1105 is inscribed which shows that this temple is 884 years old. It is located in Dwarahat.

Dwarahat: Here there are about 64-65 temples and mostly all of them had been built during the days of the Katyuri kings. In many of these idols of gods exist, in some there is no idol, and in many of them broken idols. One of the temples is called Gujar Deval. It is said that in the days of the Katyuri kings a Vaishya named Gujar Sah has built it. One dilapidated temple is named Kutambudhi Deval. It is said that it was built by an old lady who earned her livelihood by beating paddy.

In the temple of Ganesh is inscribed *shake* 1103. There is a *thurp* which looks like a big terrace. It was called 'Kachheri ka Deval'. Perhaps the Katyuri kings sitting here on the seat of justice discharged their state-business. Atkinson writes that in the mountains Chandragiri and Chanchari existed the palace of Katyuri kings. In the temple of Dunagiri is inscribed Shake *1105*. The people of Dwarahat say that the palace stood near the *thurp*.

Dwarahat is 5031' high. After the disintegration of the Katyuri kingdom it was the capital of a ruling family. The town and the market of this place are very old. Even now shops of older businessmen and goldsmiths exist here. All the people here are wise and cultured. Here there is also a pond named Syalde and a holy place where every year in the month of *vaishakh* a fair is held on the day of *sankranti* and also *bagval* takes place. It is said that gods had selected this place for establishing Dvarika and Koshi and Ramganga were ordered to meet at Dwarahat. In Givad, near village Chhana a silk-cotton tree was deputed to pass on this message to Ramganga on behalf of river Gagas. At the time when Ramganga had reached there on her way back to Dwarahat it is said that the silk-cotton tree had fallen asleep and thus failed to convey the message of Gagas to Ramganga. When she had gone down to Givad the silk-cotton tree rose up and told her the message of Gagas but she said that it was too late for her to return. Had she known it earlier, it would have been another matter. Thus Dvarika could not be founded at Dwarahat. Since then whosoever makes delay and practices laziness in passing message is called '*Semal tree*'.

Another hearsay is that Ramganga turned up but Koshi did not. The messenger sent to her engaged in eating curd, made delay.

Above Dwarahat in the mountain Dunagiri alias Dronachal goddess Vaishnavi is installed. Animal sacrifices are not offered to her. In this mountain there is good grass and vegetation; grazing which cows and buffaloes give abundant milk. Curd of this place is famous all over the province.

It is said that when Hanuman having lifted the big mountain passed through the aerial path to bring to life unconscious Lakshman a portion of Sanjivani fell down on this Dunagiri. It is said that there the iron sickle of a grass-cutter suddenly turned into that of gold. The effect of the medicinal herbs and roots of that place is said to be marvellous.

In Ida the Barahkhambha rest house is also worth-seeing. Givad—The four parts of this *patti* are named differently—(1) Gadi (2) Kauthlad, (3) Khatsar, (4) Givad. In Gadi there is big tank named Tadagtal. During rains it gets filled to its brim but subsides during winters and summers. It helps the production of *rabi* crop here.

Khatsar has been named so because it is hot. People fell ill and so did not settle down here. Then the kings issued a notice that whosoever settled down here, even if a culprit, his guilt would be excused. So the guilty persons started going and settling down there. It is they who constitute its population. So it was named Khata (guilt) + sar (land). This *patti* is situated in a plain on both the sides of Ramganga. Crops are produced here in great quantity.

Above this very Khatsar exists Lohabagarhi. It is a very high fort. It is located on the boundary of Kumaun and Garhwal. Formerly many battles were fought here. Inside the fort temples of Bhairav and Devi are lying in ruins. There are tanks built to collect water. For bringing water inside the fort from the river there is a tunnel about two miles long. Till the end of their rule (1815 A.D.) Gorkha rulers' army was stationed here.

In between Katyur and Pali above Gadi, Givad, situated on a high mountain, there a big fort named Gopalkot. During the days of Chand kings army used to be stationed there. Now it lies in ruins.

Mines: In village Kotyuda of Givad there is a copper mine and in Khatsari, Sirauli, Kalirau, Rampur, Godi, Baralgaon and Chitaili are iron-mines. People who melted iron have cut down a good part of the forest near it leading to scarcity of fuel there.

In Jaurasi Danda two types of birds-Ched and Kaklas-are very beautiful. There is also a fortress at a very high place. It is called Asurgarhi. It is said to be the fort of demons but now it lies deserted.

In Givad *patti* on the bank of Ramganga there lies the old town in ruins. Bricks are also found here. It is named Viratnagari. It is said that the Pandavas lived in this very place in their incogni to exile. Here itself existed Kichakghat on the bank of Ramganga. At this very place there is a fort named Lakhanpurkot. It is now called Asan-Vasan Sinhasan. It is said to have been the royal seat of Katyuri King Asantivasantideo. He might be perhaps identical with Vasantandeo who donated a piece of land to Bageshvar and who was one of the descendants of king Lalitsurdeo. A certificate of eight generations of these kings is found in the temple of Bageshvar. This very Vasantandeo had built the temple of Briddha Bhuvanesvar at Gangoli. Near this Lakhanpur existed a market named Kalirauhat. Now except its name no trace of it is found. This place lies between Chaukhutia-Ganai and Jhalyan Sarai.

Many types of fish are found in river Ramganga. Some are quite big which the people of that place angle very much but now the government has banned it. Fishes are angled by a number of devices. A number of fishing fairs are also held here. There is found a fish 'Salena', a type of 'Bavena'. It is said that it comes out of water during nights only. Anglers keep ash there by which lubricity of the body of the fish is removed and so unable to move they consequently die.

Masi and Bhikiyasain etc. are hot places. In summers and *Shivaratri* fairs are held here. There is a story, "Punya ko Kashi va pap ko Mashi". This place lies in 'Yatraline'. In Masi there is also a hospital belonging to Sevasamiti.'

Like **'झाँसी गले की फाँसी'** there is a story ;

"मारी गले की फाँसी, भुडंग गले का हार।
चौखुटिया न छोड़िये, जब लग मिले उधार।"

At the end of *pargana* Pali and on the boundary of Garhwal lies deserted a big fort named Juniagarhi. In this fort a number of battles were fought between Kumaun and Garhwal.

In Naya *patti* it is said regarding the wind at the bank of Ramganga that since moving at just noon, it flows very fast in the direction of the flow of the river but in the afternoon it starts flowing upward.

In Salt *patti* there stands Gujdugarhi on a high hill. In it also a number of battles were fought between the kings of Kumaun and Garhwal. Now it lies deserted.

On the Nagarjun mountain there stands the fort of Shripachava Doral. This Doral by virtue of the prowess of his arms had assumed kingship but was killed later on.

In the middle of this *pargana* there is a village named Pali. Formerly kings and also Gorkhali governors lived here. The Gorkha army was stationed in Naithangarhi. In Pali there was also a *tahsil* and a market. After the name of this very village the *pargana* is called Pali. Pachhaun was added to it because this *pargana* lies to the west of Kumaun. So even now it is called Palipachhaun. Grains are produced here in abundance. So the older residents of this place used to say that by human consumption grains are not reduced. In Pali at present, there is only one Hindi Middle School. The neighbouring villages are called Naikhola and Dhobikhola.

In this *pargana* the descendants of Katyuri kings had settled down here and there. They are mostly found in Chaukot. At present they are called Rajvar or Manural. They are also called *sayane*. This post is higher than that of *pradhan*. Miral Gusain, a class of Rajputs, regard themselves as belonging to the Rana family of Chittorgarh and say that when the Emperor of Delhi had attacked Chittorgarh their forefathers leaving Chittorgarh came over to Kumaun. Some people hold that they are Mirvals, who had came from the Punjab.

The last king of Pali belonged to the royal family of Katyuris. When the Katyuri kings of Chaugarkha and Baramandal fled away at the time of the attack by the Chand kings, the king of Pali also in fear voluntarily handed over this *pargana* to the Chand kings. The Chands also left the post of *sayanas* in their hands. They made them tax paying *zamindars* of Pali but do not give them any appointment in the court; apparently telling them that their attendance in the

court was not essential. In fact taking them as 'staunch foes' (*dana dushman*) they kept them away.

Now, Ranikhet is the capital of Pali. This town of *Gora* (white) was founded in 1869 A.D. The land of villages of Sarana, Kotli, Ranikhet and Tana was purchased for Rs. 13024/-. Mr. Troope's property was also purchased. The treasury was opened here on April 1, 1869 A.D. In 1871 A.D. Cantonment Committee was formed. At present a big battalion of 'whites' is stationed here. 'Whites' resided in Chaubatia, Ranikhet and Dulikhet. The *pargana* officer also resides here.

In Tadikhet there is a national school (Prem Vidyalaya), established by national workers where along with imparting national education high class work of spinning and weaving is also taught.

42. Ramgad and Agar

This *pargana* consists of two *pattis* (1) Agar (2) Ramgad. Ramgad, Devdar and Khairani are the rivers. Mukteshvar and Moteshvar Mahadeo are installed here.

This *pargana* is much smaller than other *parganas*. A very powerful Khas king named Shri Gajuvathinga formerly ruled here. He killed king Bhim Chand while he was asleep. Later on he was killed by king Kalyan Chand. Since then the whole of this *pargana* has been annexed to the Chand Kingdom.

In all the mountains of this *patti* there were iron factories; so it is called Agar (in the language of the hills 'agar' means iron-factory). In almost all the mountains of this *patti* iron is found. The inhabitants of this *patti* are called 'agari' whose main work was to prepare iron. Now they carry on cultivation and other work.

There are iron mines near in villages Nathuakhan, Peuda, Lasingpani, Supi, Satbunga, Chaukhuta, Majeda, Dhanachuli, Buransi, Pali Mandi etc. A fort named Lohakoti, now lying deserted, is situated on a high mound here. Here battles also were fought during the days of the kings. Satbunga is the biggest mountain here. Potato is produced here in abundance. In Ramgarh there are a number of orchards. This place is quite beautiful.

43. Danpur

Danpur is contiguous with the Himalaya. Its boundaries are contiguous with Johar, Garhwal, Pali, Baramandal and Gangoli. In the north its boundary extends to village Kunvari on the banks of Ramganga and Pindar. To the south the region on the peak of Shikhar and at the confluence of Hadvad and Sarayu is called Danpur.

Formerly there were two *pattis* is Danpur, now they are three—upper, middle and lower; but the actual Danpur is the upper one. Nakuri also is said to be in Danpur.

Mountains: In the north Nandakot, Nandadevi, Nandakhat, Sundardhunga, Vanakatia etc. are the big snow-covered mountains. Besides Kafini Kautela, Dhakudi, Childha, Laudhura, Kiltop and Ganguli Vinayak are the high peaks whose height is from 10000' to 13000—14000'. In their midst the high water falls looks like the drops of pearls. Dhakudi, Namik, Lamtara are famous and beautiful forests. Rivers flowing fast through the green and thick forests present an attractive scene. Seeing the sport of Almighty, man becomes speechless and cannot live without remembering him.

During summers the Gujars in thousands bring their cattle here to rear them. Now the residents of this place also have been imposing strictness like that of the forest. They demand pasturage, so now the Gujars rarely come here.

Pindari Glacier: Here there are glaciers of Pindari, Sundardhunga and Ramganga. Pindari glacier is regarded as unique among all the glaciers of the world. A good road leads to it and there are dak-bungalows also. And so visiting it is easiest in comparison to other glaciers. It lies 68 miles away from Almora. To describe Pindari glacier in words is difficult.

The statement of Tulasidas 'गिरा अनयन नयन बिनु वाणी' comes to our mind. On entering into the inner part of the glacier we find limpid slabs of snow formed during thousands and lacs of years back and shining like precious stones. It appears as if it is Nature's Tajmahal with crevices in its walls. Having crossed this very glacier Mr. Traill, the first commissioner of this place, had gone to village Martoli of Johar, so it is called Traill-pass. Later on, perhaps Mr. Ruttledge also crossed it. On its three sides this glacier is surrounded by high

snowy mountains. The plain lying in the middle is called Martolia halt from which it appears that formerly there was a pass here which now has been closed on account of land slides. While going to Pindari the forests of Joharpani and Johar are met with on the way. The Bhotias now residing in Chaud, Harkot, Dhurkot, Mikila and Khalmuni in Upper Danpur are said to be the former inhabitants of Pindari. Even now their relationships exists in village Martoli across the Traill Pass. It is evident from all this that sometime this place was inhabited by the Bhotias.

Birds: Dafi, Lunga and Munyal (Himalayan pea-cock) are found here. Dafis and lungas, having stolen away the beauty of all the birds of the world take shelter in the Himalaya but even hunters kill them and eat their flesh and with their feathers caps of English ladies are decorated.

Wild rats called Mirtu are found here in abundance. With their skin mufflers are made.

Danus, the aboriginals of this place, regard themselves as demon-gods.They say that it is they who bring down rain in whole of the world.

Medicines: Poison, *dolu, atis, bhutkes, sachi* and *tantara* etc. are also produced here.

Trees: Among trees *raga, chilla, surai, suner, devadar, pangar, ratachimmal, ratapa* and *burunsh* etc. are found here. *Bhojpatra*, is also produced here on which people write letters. Utensils made of its wood are highly durable, fine and light. *Banjh* of many kinds such as *banj, rianj, syanj, karaunj, falyant, kharauj* and *tilaung* are also found here.

It also is a snow-dominated region, but there is no route to Tibet via it. People of Danpur transact some business through the pass of Johar, but much less in comparison with Darma and Johar. Goats are available in abundance in this *pargana*. People of Danpur retaining some goats for themselves, sell the remaining ones to the people of Johar. They have no commercial transaction or agency with the *hunias*.

There was a fort named Danpurkot but now only its tops remains. People of Danpur regard this fort as belonging to their demon ancestors. In front of it there is a village named Shumgarh.

It is called the fort of demon Shumbh. He fought against Devi and was killed.

Animals: In the mountains of Danpur thar, burad and musk deer are found in abundance. Two types of bears, white and black, are found here. In snowy regions white tigers also are seen.

People of this place are brave. They are not afraid of tigers, bears and other wild animals. They kill them through various tricks. They are terrified more by government servants than by wild beasts, because they are less educated and are straightforward and simple. Clever officials harasss them in many ways. A number of Danpurias are soldiers in the army.

Selkhadi is produced here in abundance but the existence of any other mine here has not been heard of.

Hearsayings: People of Danpur say that to the west of mountain Nandadevi the high peak of Himachal is known as Kabbalekh. Wings of Kabbas (crows) lie scattered there in lacs. For that reason the said mountain is called 'the Kashi of the Kabbas'. If the Kabbas die here, they go straight to *vaikunth*. It is said that when a Kabba is on the point of death he goes to Kabbalekh. If a Kabba dies elsewhere, another Kabba taking its one wing to Kabbalekh drops it there. This mountain lies towards Nandakot to its left after crossing the bridge of Malia Dhauda above village Khati.

None can enter into the mountain of Nandadevi. It is said that formerly when people for performing worship reached the foot of the mountain they first worshipped a goat and tieing a knife in its neck drove it away to the mountain. When it reached the peak, its head having been severed from its body remained on the mountain and its trunk fell down below. Now in *kaliyug* it does not happens so.

Crops: Paddy and wheat are quite rare here. Barley, *Madua* and *fafar* are produced here in abundance. People eat *sattu* also. Local *ghee*, curd and honey are quite sweet. In summers, and rains black-bees come over here and build their hives in the inaccessible caves and caverns of the mountains. The brave Danpurias sitting in *kandis* and tying ropes collect honey even from these inaccessible places. Honey produced from the pollens of various wild flowers is highly fragrant and tasteful.

The last village of Danpur is Jhuni. There goes a saying :

"नड. माथी मांसु नैं, झुनी मांथी गों नैं"

(There is no flesh above the nail and no village above Jhuni).

Above Jhuni stand the inaccessible walls of Himalaya where it is difficult to go.

Bukyal: In summers and rains at the height of 8000' to 10000' from here in green and verdant pastures horses, cattle, sheep and goats are let loose to graze freely. At the end of the rainy season they bring them back. These places are called *bukyal*. Animals by living here become happy and strong. The herdsmen of this place are called *Uniyal*. From Khati to Davali, on both sides of river Pindar up to 7 miles the dense and green forest of *nigala* is no less beautiful than Nandanvan.

In Danpur *ningal* is produced in good quantity. Pens and *Chhilukas* made of it are good. *Moste, dabake, spears, baskets, gode* and winnowing baskets are also made of it.

People of Danpur sell ghee, honey, hides and bitumen.

Hadsil, Kapkot, Saling, Loharkhet and Shamandhura are the main places of this region. In Kharabgarh the boundaries of all the three Danpurs meet. Kapkot is the biggest village. It is situated in a plain on the bank of Sarayu. Here there are a dakbungalow, a post office, a middle school and also shops. This lies on the route to Pindari.

Gods : the gods of this place are Nandadevi and Mulnarayan alias Mulena. There are a few goblins and other indigenous deities also called Danon such as Lal Danon, Dhamsingh Danon and Virsingh Danon. They might have been local kings or brave *paikas* who in their times were objects of worship and even after death came to be regarded as village-deities.

It is said that as Bhagvati had killed demons Shumbha and Nishumbh here, so it has been named Shumgarh. When these demons fled away and hid themselves in a cave, Bhagvati tearing open the rock killed the demons with a disc. A stream of blood came out from here which has now turned into a stream of water. Red moss there looks red like blood. This village is like a fort. Here there is a Pandushila also on which marks of the feet of the

Pandavas are said to exist. Here itself, now called Pindarpani, Arjun by striking with an arrow had drawn out cold drinking water.

Fairs: On the day of *Vaishakh Purnamasi* a big fair is held at a place named Sarayumul of Bhadratunga. Like important holy places *shradah* and *mundan* are also performed here. In Badhiyakot a fair is held after the name of Nandadevi. It is said that when Bhagvati came from Badrinath first halted here.

44. **Katyur**

The boundary of this *pargana* is as follows—Sarayu in the east, Baramandal in the west, Danpur in the south and Garhwal and Pali Pacchaun in the north. The mountains are—Jagthanadura and Gopalkot. Gomati and Garudganga are the rivers. At place there are wide fields like those in plains. In summers and rainy seasons malaria spreads here.

Gopalkot and Ranachula are the forts here. In Gopalkot (9050') the treasury of Katyuri kings was housed. In the days of the Chands army was stationed here. Now Gopalkot is a fort only in name; there are mountains and nothing else. Ranchula still exists. It is located in a very beautiful place. From here scenes of upper and middle Katyur and of serpentine river Gomati look quite attractive. This fort of Ranachula is located above the town. It was the capital of the Katyuri kings of Solar dynasty. The original name of this town was Kartikeyapur alias Karbirpur which deteriorated into Katyur. Dilapidated houses and temples are found here in abundance. The public royal court also lies in ruins. Now this town is called Tailihat and Shelihat. In between these two *hats* river Gomati flows. Workmanship of the temples is worth-seeing. Idols of gods also are carved in a very neat and clean manner. In front of this town towards the south was also built a metalled tank which now lies buried underground. To the east of the old town, on the bank of Gomati stands a Shiva temple named Baijnath. In its front lies a big pond in which, as in the Brahmakund of Haridvar, fishes are seen.

It is said that in olden days at the place where now Katyuris carry on cultivation, there existed a tank a bit more than four miles in length and breadth. That tank was destroyed in due course. Since then people reside and cultivation is done there. Even now when seen minutely it is found that downwards two big rocks stand on

both the sides. It is possible that breaking the rocks lying between, there two tanks might have emerged. The ground inside the tank is hot. It is said that formerly persons awarded punishment were sent to this place also. Whosoever came and settled down here was called the tenant of the king. He was exempted from any further punishment. In the beginning this place was inhabited by such persons.

In this *pargana* there are three *pattis* now called upper, lower and middle Katyur.

Bageshvar—The ancient Shiva temple of Bageshvar stands on the bank of Sarayu and Gomati in lower Katyur. It was built by the Katyuri kings. Elderly people say that Bageshvar is a *Svayambhu* (self-born) god and not installed. On the rock placed at the gate of this temple the genealogy of the Katyuri kings upto eight generations is engraved. It is a certificate of the land donated to this temple. On *Kartikpurnima*, *Gangadashara* and *Shivaratri* small fairs and on *Uttarayani* big fairs are held here. Here there are a good market, a dakbungalow and a middle school. On *Uttarayani* people from all around come here. Hunias, Joharis, Shaukas, Darmyals, Garhwalis, Danpurias, Kumaunis and country traders all come here. Business in woollen goods, blankets, *chutakas*, dan, small fans, soft, fine wool, flappens, musk, bitumen, *gajgah*, *nirbisi*, salt, borax, cloth, *jambu*, *gandrayani*, dry fruits, betel leaves, and betel nuts etc. is transacted here. Normally all things are always available. In summers people scarcely live here ; they go hither and thither. At a distance of nine miles from here Kanda also is an excellent place. Here also there is a middle school.

Kuli-utar movement

Bageshvar has not been only a religious centre but since 1921 A.D. also a centre of national and Home-Rule movements. In 1921 A.D. on the invitation of the Brahman Club of Chami, national leaders like Shri Hargovind Pant and Lala Chiranji Lal and national worker Sri Badridatt Pande etc. came to Bageshvar. There in a red placard these words were written 'stop Kuli-utar'. The national leaders organised meetings all over the town and made home the matter to the people. The bureaucratic government treated all the people of Kumaun as coolies. They were forced to carry loads on arbitrary wages. If they refused, they were punished. Government servants harassed them.

On the advice of the leaders 40,000 persons offered *satyagrah*. Taking the water of the Ganga in their hands they took an oath that since then they would neither be called coolies nor carry loads under force. Twentyone English officers along with their leader, the deputy commissioner of that place, were present there. Some policemen also were there. The government wanted to arrest the leaders. It is said that there was talk to open fire also but the military officers seeing the unity and courage of the people and shortage of ammunition stopped the district magistrate from doing so. The district magistrate threatened the leaders to arrest them but the leaders as well as the people remained adamant. The years old custom ended as the result of three days' *satyagrah*. There was no disturbance. Everything was done peacefully. The whole country got conscious. In spite of its herculean efforts bureaucracy got defeated. In the end it had to bow down before the strong public opinion. An example of such a successful *satyagrah* will be hardly found anywhere in the history of the world. The scene was worthseeing by the gods.

To congratulate on it Mahatma Gandhi went to Bageshvar in 1929 A.D. and there laid the foundation of Svarajy Mandir established by Patriot Mohan Joshi. Later on he stayed for about 15 days in the dakbungalow of Kausani lying between Katyur and Baurarau.

Since 1921 A.D. this or that national movements continued to take place. By the efforts of Mohan Joshi a vigorous indigenous exhibition was organised.

Mines—Near village Jagthan there is an iron mine. In Gaul Paladi and Kharhi copper mines also exist.

It is said that upto many days after Katyur ceased to be the capital buried wealth and utensils of ancient times have been found in its vicinity. For this people used to dig *naulas*, terraces and old ruins. Now these temples are protected. The oldest rulers of Kumaun, the Katyuri kings of the Solar dynasty ruled from this very place. It is also said that their kingdom extended upto Khas, Huna, Kirat, Bang and Dravid countries also. The boundary of the kingdom of the Katyuri kings extended upto Kot Kangra in the west, upto Sikkim in the east and upto Rohilkhand in the south. The English writers have also accept these facts.

The name of a certain peak here is Chittorgarh. There the representatives of the kings of Chittorgarh lived in palaces built by them. The capital was named Kartikeyapur.

In Tit on the bank of Garud Ganga there exists a temple of Badrinath. In Garud, Tit, Baijnath and Dangoli there are small townships. In the new township near Garud address of welcome was presented to Gandhijee. From here roads lead to Garhwal and Bageshvar. Motor vehicles also ply upto Garud.

45. Present *pattis* and *parganas*

Pattis and *parganas* mentioned above belong to the days of the Chands and the Gorkhas. They are as follows :

	Parganas		*Pattis*
1.	*Darma*	—	Vyans, Chaudans, Darma, Malla and Talla.
2.	Johar	—	Malla Johar, Gorifat, Talladesh.
3.	*Danpur*	—	Danpur Malla, Talla and Bichala, Dug, Katyur Malla, Talla and Bichalla, Nakuri.
4.	*Sira*	—	Athabisi Malli and Talli, Baranbisi, Didihat, Mali.
5.	*Askot*	—	Askot Malla and Talla.
6.	*Sor*	—	Khadayat, Kharakdesh, Mahar, Nayadesh, Rawal, Seti Malli and Talli, Saun, Malla, Bichalla and Talla Valdia.
7.	*Kali Kumaun*	—	Chalsi, Charal Talla Malla, Gumdesh, Gangol, Khilfati Fat, Palbilaun Malla and Talla, Fadaka, Regadu, Sipati, Suibisung, Assi, Talli Rau, Talladesh.
8.	*Chaugarkha*	—	Darun, Kharahi, Lakhanpur Talla and Malla, Rithagad, Rangod, Salam Malla and Talla, Dolfat.
9.	*Gangol*	—	Bel, Bherang Badaun, Kamshyar, Pungrau, Athigaon.
10.	*Baramandal*	—	Visaud, Baurarau Valla and Palla, Dvarsun, Kaidarau, Kaligad, Khasparja, Uchyur, Riuni, Syunara Malla and Talla, Tikhun Malla and Talla, Athaguli Palli and Valli.

Parganas		*Pattis*
11. *Faldakot*	—	Chaugaon, Dhurafat, Kandarkhuva, Malli Doti.
12. *Pali*	—	Malla, Bichalla and Talla Chaukot, Malla, Bichalla and Talla Dora, Givad Palla, Talla and Valla, Malla and Talla Kaka lasaun, Palla and Valla Naya, Silor Malla and Talla, Salt Valla and Palla and Talla and Malla.

In district of Almora there are 5066 villages, in which generally there are the same number of Pradhans and 100-150 Thokdars and about 80 Patvaris.

Here there are 4 *tahsils* (1) Ranikhet-which is also called Pali *tahsil* (2) Almora (3) Champavat, (4) Pithoragarh. The above *parganas* are ruled by four deputy collectors who are also called pargana officers—(1) Baramandal, (2) Pali and Faldakot, (3) Gangoli, Chaugarkha, Kali Kumaun (4) Darma, Johar, Danpur, Sira, Askot, Sor.

Deputy Commissioner is the overall officer of these *parganas*.

Out of these four *tahsils*, in two there are *tahsildars* and in the remaining two *naib-tahsildars*.

Nainital

Pargana		
1. *Hilly Pattis*	—	Chhakhata, Kota, Dhaniyankot, Ramgarh, Dhyanirau, Kutauli, Mahrudi.
2. *Bhavar*	—	Chhakhata, Chaubhainsi, Kota, Chilkiya.
3. *Tarai*	—	Rudrapur, Gadarpur, Bajpur, Kilpuri, Nanakmata, Bilari.
4. *Kashipur*	—	Kashipur.

In Nainital there are 1442 villages and the same number of Pradhans. The *tahsils* are (1) Nainital, (2) Haldwani, (3) Kichchha, (4) Bajpur, (5) Khatima, (6) Kashipur.

The S.D.Os are as such of (1) Tarai (2) Kashipur, (3) Nainital.

All these work under deputy commissioner.

46. **Hilly Villages**

In Kurmachal houses are mostly built of stone. Roofs made of slabs of stone are sloping so that water might flow down. Owing to excess of rain here, houses made of straw cannot last long. In mountains thatches are rare but in Tarai Bhavar they are abundant. Now in mountains in roofs, tin sheets, instead of stone slabs, are used. Hilly villages seen from a distance, look very beautiful but on going near this illusion is removed. At places they look quite dirty. Manure lies scattered here and there. People even ease themselves near their houses and this emits stench all round.

The villagers call their houses as, *kud*, the lower part as *goth* and the verandah as *gothmal*. In *goths*, generally cows are kept. In some houses cow-pens are located separately. The upper portion is called *majhela*. If its verandah is open it is called *chhaja* ; if closed *chakh*. The roof is called *pakha*. The main gate is called *kholi* and the room *Khand*. The courtyard is also called *patangan* as it is covered with stone. The back portion of the house is called *karadi* and the pathway *gaun*, *gvet* or *bato*. The conglomeration of a number of houses is called 'Bakhali'. On the roofs bundles of grass (*lute*) or pumpkins are kept. Had even a little attention been paid to cleanliness in the villages, many diseases would have been averted.

47. **Farming**

Farming is generally done here on old pattern. Fields in which crops are sown have been made on the slopes of the mountains by cutting. Where possible, canals called *gul* are taken out by cutting drains from the hilly rivers. They are used for irrigation. At places along the bank of the rivers there are quite fertile fields in the valleys. These are called *sere*. Irrigated field is called *sera*. The land that cannot be irrigated is called *uprau*. The parts of a village are variously called as *tok*, *sar* and *tana* etc.

Normally cultivation is done by ploughing. But at some places there are such hilly tracts of land where oxen cannot go. There cultivation is done by digging with a hoe. Generally there are two harvests. In Tarai Bhavar at places there grow three harvests. The details of the crops produced are given below :

Kharif —Paddy, *madua*, *manira*, *kauni*, *china*, *chaulai* or *chua*, *ugal* and maize. In Tarai Bhavar besides these, *jvar*, *bajara*, *ganara* and *kodon* etc. are also produced.

Pulses —*Urd, bhat, gahat, rains, arhar* and *mung*. *Arhar* is not produced in mountains.

Mustard, sesamum and bhangira are the *tilhans*.

Rabi —Wheat, barley and *ganara* are the grains, lentil, pea, gram in Tarai Bhavar are the pulses. Linseed and mustard are oil-seeds.

Cotton is produced here and there is small quantity. Bhang, from the leaves of which *charas* is manufactured, is also sown with *kharif* crop. Its seeds ground and mixed in vegetables are eaten in winters. They have warm effect. With the fibres of *bhang* plant ropes and sack cloth are manufactured.

Sugarcane is produced in good quantity at places here in the mountains. Ginger, chilly and turmeric are exported in plenty from here. Potato and *ghuian* are produced in abundance. Mistletoes (*banda*) weighing upto 8-10 *seers* are produced here and exported even to Calcutta. Tobacco is sown at places not for business but for personal use.

Cultivation is the main source of people's livelihood. But owing to paucity of cultivated land all needs of people are not fulfilled and so they take up service. All over India particularly in northern India many of them are employed in high government and other services. In Burma they are recruited in the army. They are also employed in petty services. There is one platoon consisting of the Kumaunis only. The second battalion has been disbanded. Some of them are employed here and there in other battalions. Sometimes motor vehicles ply on Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and Haldwani, Kathgodam-Almora routes. They also serve in hotels in Delhi, Meerut, Varanasi and Bareilly. They cannot pay the revenue by the income of their land only. They bring money by service at different places and thereby pay the revenue and meet the domestic expenses.

In Kumaun grains sufficient for consumption are not produced there. Grains are sent to the mountains from Tarai Bhavar but mostly they go to towns such as Nainital, Bhavali, Ranikhet, Almora and Mukteshvar etc. Villages are generally self-reliant in respect of food grains.

48. Greens and Vegetables

Almost all types of greens and vegetables are produced here ; special being—potato, onion, radish, *ghuian, gaderi, gave*, cucumber, pumpkin, gourd, lentil, *charchinda, tarud*, tuber, turnip, spinage, coriander, fenugreek, pea, bigpea (*bakula*), tomato, pot-herb (*bethua*) *soya*, cauliflower, salad, *hathickuk* and *rubarb*. *Gethi* and *tarud*, produced in gardens as well as in jungles, are special vegetables of this place.

Lai, ugal, chua or *chaulai* etc. are the vegetables for the poor who have to take their bread with salt. In seasons they also bring *kairua, lingud, kothyuda* etc. from the forests.

49. Flowers

In Kumaun flowers are produced in abundance; the main ones are: jasmine, *champa, bela*, rose, *kunj, hanskali, motia*, juhi, rajanigandha, genda, guldavari, daliya, gulbahar, motia, *nargis*, lotus *surya* and *chandra* etc. Shiling is a special mountain flower which spreads its fragrance far out and away. It blossoms after September. Burans when blooms in forests in the spring looks many times more beautiful than *tesu*. Gulbak also is of many kinds.

Among English flowers are astor, bigonia, dahlia, haulihoc, kailosia, kox coomb, tafushia, sweet william, sweet sultan, geranium, petunia, zinnia, daisy etc. Indigenous flowers are fragrant. English flowers are beautiful to look at but are generally scentless.

Near Himalaya and in the forests various kind of flowers bloom; many of them are very beautiful and fragrant, some are poisonous also.

50. Fruits

Domestic fruits like chestnut, *alubukhara, alucha*, mango, tamarind, guava, pomegranate, grape, peach, *badhal*, jujube, citron, cherry, roseberry, jack-fruit, plantain, banana, lichi, lokat, orange, pear, lemon, pangar, papaya, mulberry, apple, musk-melon, water-melon, cucumber, apricot, fig, anjir etc. are produced in Kumaun.

Wild fruits—like *anchu, bedu, baheda, bel, baida, anvala, banmuli, bannibu*, jujube, *bamaura, bhotia badam, syunta, chilu gethi*,

ghingharu, gular, had, jaman, kachnar, kafal, khajur, kilmoda, mahua, maulsiri, mehal, padam, chyura, kimu, timil, ginvai etc. are produced in the jungles of Kumaun.

51. **Wood**

None can count the types of wood, grass, trees and plants which grow in the forests of Kurmachal. People know about the following trees which come into use : *akhrot, ayanr, arandi, ashok, arjun,* mango, tamarind, *utis, kachnar, kadam, kail, kikad, khair, khadak, kharsu, gethi, sandal, chid, chyura, jaman, tun, devdaru, neem, padam, pangar, fayant, papadi, babul, bel, bad, bichaina, banjh, bent, burans bans, malu, bhauru, mehal, bhekul, bhojpatra, rinyaj, rai, ritha, syanj, sal, shisham, haldu* etc.

The wood of the following trees are exported to foreign lands :

From mountains—*chid, fir* and *tun.*

From Tarai Bhavar—*Sal, Shisham, haldu* and *Khair.*

Formerly hilly paper made from the trees of *siddha baduva* was quite durable. It was also exported outside but now paper is manufactured in plain by machines from *bhavad* grass and bamboo. Now hilly paper is manufactured very little.

52. **Industries**

Industries here have been quite scant. It is said that formerly cotton was grown here and Hindu weavers prepared homespun cloth. In every house there were *charkhas* but this industry was later on hampered by the introduction of mill-made cloth. Forty to fortyfive thousand weavers were thrown out of employment. In the face of foreign cloth, indigenous cloth lost its market. After the freedom movement woollen and cotton cloth began to be made here and there in small quantity. Cloth industry is mostly centred in Kashipur. There are a number of weavers there. The cloth-industry is in the hands of the people of Kashipur. There *khaddar* and *gadha* types of cloths are made. In Kashipur and Jaspur high quality of printing and dyeing is done.

There is wool-industry in Danpur, Johar and Darma where blankets, *pankhis, pattus, dans* and *thulmas* are manufactured. These are mostly sold in the fairs at Bageshvar and Jauljivi. As the result

of the freedom movement woolen goods and *galichas* are manufactured in Prem Vidyalaya at Tadikhet. *Ashramas* were also opened in Bageshvar, Gananath, Salam etc. Almora district board also popularised *takali* in schools where boys were taught to spin wool. For preparing cloth from the spun-wool weaving houses were also opened. The aim was to teach weaving also to the boys. But all this was then in infancy. It could not flourish there as it did in Kashmir. As Kashmir supplies excellent woollen goods at cheap rates to whole of India, so when elegant, beautiful and cheap woollen goods manufactured in Kurmachal will be sent outside then alone indigenous cloth-industry shall be regarded prosperous. Presently cloth sufficient to meet even domestic needs is not produced there. The industry department also has opened a weaving school here. In it all types of thread, indigenous and foreign, are used.

Mines: Here there are mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, yellow orpiment, borax etc. Gold and silver are mostly imported from Tibet and a little is prepared from the sand of the rivers. Salt also is produced in Bhot. Saun-Agari people unearth iron and copper and refine them. For this they pay tax to the king. From the minerals here all things, even weapons of war, were made.

Later on when in 1815 A.D this region came under the British rule, the government extracted raw minerals from the mines here and sent their samples to Calcutta. The samples were found to be good. From the samples 24% to 21% iron was produced. In 1826 A.D. the second report was sent to the government. Captain Drummond and Mr. Bilkin carried on the business of copper from 1838 A.D. to 1841 A.D. For it an annual subsidy of Rs.3415/- was given by the government but there was a loss of Rs.7384/-. This relates to Garhwal.

In 1856 A.D. the East India Company sent Mr. Sauberry to Kumaun to undertake the work of melting iron. Iron-industry was opened here in Ramgad, Dechausri and Khurpatal. Later on Devis Company also decided to undertake iron-industry. When the government incurred loss it sold out its establishment at Khurpatal to the above company. The business establishment at Dechauri was purchased by Drummond company in 1861 A.D. In 1862 these two companies were merged in the 'North of India Kumaun Iron Works

Company'. The government, to a great extent, relaxed the forest laws for them. They could under certain terms and conditions cut away as much wood as they needed. In 1864 A.D. this company became insolvent. Later on when the forest laws became strict and orders were issued that none would, without governmental permission extract minerals from mines, this industry closed down. Even after the closure of the company the Saun-Agaris continued digging out iron from here and there but owing to the strict laws they, too, had to stop this business and take to cultivation.

Gold and silver were imported here from Tibet. Formerly 90 grains of gold wrapped in *fatang* was regarded equivalent to a gold-coin. Gold worth Rs.10 to 12 thousand and silver worth Rs.30 to 40 were imported in Bageshwar every year from 1845 A.D. to 1850 A.D.

Near the copper-mine of Gaul-Paladi, lead is also available. In Danpur also lead is found. There is a mine of yellow orpiment in Munsyari. Lignite is found in Bhimtal; graphite in Kalmatia, Banadi, Falsimi etc. and sulphur in Munsyari, Nainital, Nargoli, Kharabagadh, Kathgodam etc. Borax is imported from Tibet and refined in Ramnagar. There are many borax factories here. Gypsum is found in Chhakhata and in river Nihal near Kaladhungi. *Kamet* which, when refined, can be used as gypsum, is found at many places. Bitumen from which medicine is prepared, is found here at several places. There are also lime-mines at so many places. Alum is found in Jakhgaon between Nainital and Khairana. *Jalipaush* is found here and there. Funnels are made from it and also the Indian medicine called *abhrak.*

Mr. Atkinson also writes that there are many good minerals in Kumaun but owing to non-availability of coal and keen competition with foreign goods, this industry could not flourish. On the establishment of our own government it will be the duty of the supporters of the self-government to encourage industries by producing cheap electricity from water-falls and opening various types of factories.

Lisa: It is collected from pine-trees and is exported from here in good quantity. Formerly in Bhavali turpentine oil was produced, now it has been shifted to Bareilly. There is an oil refinery in

Haldwani. Oil extracted from mustard seeds is of very good quality. From Ramnagar, Haldwani and Lalkuan wood in good quantity is exported abroad. In 1931 A.D. timber-contractor Haradatt Joshi started furniture-industry in Haldwani. Till now all types of furniture were brought from Bareilly and its neighbourhood. Only ordinary type of furniture was made here.

Sugar: Sugar factories were opened in Kichha and Lalkuan between 1932 to 1933 A.D.

Cotton: In Kashipur there is a cotton processing mill also. In Mukteshvar from blood collected from the bodies of cattle, serum is prepared for cattle-diseases. Serum is also prepared for injecting it in human diseases. Its branch has been opened in Bareilly also. Lymph is prepared in Patuadangar. It is used in injections. Both of these are government undertakings; one at Mukteshvar is related to the central government and Lymph depot is under the provincial government.

Catechu: Catechu was formerly prepared in Tarai-Bhavar but now it is mostly prepared in Bareilly, as a factory has been established there to which catechu trees from Tarai Bhavar are supplied at cheap rates. This is the result of the grace of Mr. Wyndham.

The following herbs and roots are exported to other countries from Kathgodam, Tanakpur, Haldwani and Ramnagar etc. (1) *chhadila* (2) *padam* (3) *daruhaldi* (4) *ghudbach* (5) *mulim* (6) *kaiphal, surkha* (7) *Pakhanbed*, (8) *ritha*, (9) *dalchini*, (10) *rajigara*, (11) *hansraj*, (12) *chiraita*, (13) *kotu*, (14) *amaltash*, 915) *suhaga*, (16) *biroja*, (17) *Samoya*, (18) *ghasijira*, (19) *tejpatta*, (20) *mirch dada*, (21) *sink*, (22) *singada*, (23) *banafsa*, (24) *brahmi*, (25) *bijsar*, (26) *babool*, (27) *khair*, (28) *rasaud, kuchila, punarnavva, pipli, tarud, gethi, lisa* etc.

Grasses

The following grasses are sent to plains from Tarai Bhavar :

Kans —for making baskets.

Sink —for making brooms and paper.

Tuli—for making mats to cover carts.

Bendu, Nal, Tanta—for thatches.

Paderu, Motha—for making mats.

Munj—for making rope.

Bhavar—for making paper.

Bamboo—exported from Tarai Bhavar in good quantity.

Honey—also is exported from Kumaun and imported from Nepal.

Leather is sent to Kanpur, Saharanpur, Bareilly and Agra etc. In Pali-Pachhaun and Salt good and durable mats (*minire*) are made.

Industries are quite scant here. Some people make baskets of wood. At places stone-cups from gypsum are made.

Kuthalia Bauras prepare bhang-bags (*Kuthale*) and also a kind of cloth. Dr. D. Pant writes that in the days of the Mughals commercial transactions were carried on between Nepal, Kumaun and Bhutan. Kumaun was famous for its minerals such as gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, yellow orpiment and borax. From Tibet, its northern region, musk, yaks, hawks, horses and wild honey were imported in Kumaun and from there sent to other places. Other things that Kumaun then exported were *chuk, chyur*, wax and wool.

Mr. Traill in his report of 1825 writes that the following things from Kumaun were sent to the plains :

From Mountains: All kinds of grains, pulses, *tilhan*, (seeds from which oil is extracted) turmeric, ginger, dry ginger, saffron, *nagkesar* (medicinal herb) cardamom, *mari, kalki, lalgiri, nirbisi, archa, chiraita*, sugar, barks, *tejpat*, chilly, pomegranate, walnut, syúnte, *aravi, charas, bhang*, opium, ghee, oil, honey, wax, musk, hawk, borax, bitumen, gypsum, yellow orpiment, hilly paper, bamboo, wooden utensils, hides, whisk, horses, cattle, gold-dust, iron, bars of copper, small fans, blankets, wool and sour things (chook).

Things sent from Terai to the plains (in 1825) : Wood, beams, planks, bambooes, crushers, ivory, fuel, wooden utensils, coal, lime, gum, sealing wax, catechu, ghee, oil, grains, pulses, *telhan, banda*, turmeric, chilly, *bhavar grass*, munj, sack-cloth, paint, banslochan etc.

Things sent from the plains to the hills—Cotton, silken and woollen clothes, thread, cotton, tobacco, jaggery, sugar, sugar candy, salt, spices, betel, betel-nuts, coconuts, dryfruits, soap, paints, indigo, alum, potash, sulphur, medicine, iron goods, copper sheets, toys, looking glasses, gun powder, tins, lead coral, pearl, precious stones, gold, silver, paper and ink etc.

Spinning with the help of hydro-electricity : From 1935 A.D. Thakur Joga Singh started at village Gongolakotuli the work of spinning by hydro-electricity. By it wool and cotton are spun. This work is praiseworthy. It is hoped that this would spread all over Kurmachal.

53. **Fruit Business**

Fruits are produced here in abundance. Here there are a number of orchards also. Apples produced at Jalana are the best. This famous orchard originally belonged to General Wheeler; now it belongs to Seth Lala Shivalal Paramashah of Nainital. Rai Bahadur Lala Chiranji Lal, the *rais* and *zamindar* of Almora, has made a good deal of effort in his orchard in Devaldhar. There he produced different types of fruits but owing to its distance from the railway line it could not flourish as did the orchards of Ramgad located near Nainital and the railway line. Almost all the orchards of Binsar have come under the possession of Lala Kundanlal Mathurasah Gangola. In the government orchard at Ranikhet also fruits like apples, pears, plums, cherries, apricots, peaches, oranges, chestnuts etc. are produced in abundance but fruit business at Ramgad, Bhavali, and Mukteshvar is progressing well. In Ramgad there are many orchards owned by the English who first of all planted many types of fruit trees there. Now the Indians have also made a good progress in this field. Prominent among the Englishmen are Ms. Swidenham, Linklan, Allen and Mrs. Deriyas etc. and among Indians Ms. Visharad, Umapati, Jagat Chand, Mohan Singh Dadamval etc. In Mukteshwar Mrs. Staifal and Rai Saheb Lala Anti Ram Shah are the main persons. In Bhavali Pt. Narayandatt Bhatt also has made good efforts in this direction. He studied horticulture and is trying to put this business on the path of greater progress. In Ranikhet the name of Mr. Mumtaj Hussain is worth-noting. In Syahidevi Vanprasthi Pt. Bholadatta Pande also the successor to the Siddhashram established by Pt. Shiromani Pathak and Baba Haidiya Khan, has planted beautiful orchards where delicious fruits are produced. In Bhimtal also there are a few orchards, but apples produced at Ramgad, Jalana and Chaubattia are the best. The soil at these places is suitable for fruit-production. Apple is mostly produced at the height of more than 6000'. Other smaller orchards also exist here and there.

Oranges are produced in Sor and Gangoli since ancient times. Elsewhere also they are produced. Hilly oranges are very good but

not so as those of Nagpur and Silhat. Cultivation of oranges needs greater attention. Lemons produced here are very good and of big size.

In Tarai Bhavar there are big orchards of mango, jackfruit, papaya, and banana etc. Mangoes and bananas of Askot are good. In Pàli Pachhaun also mango is produced in abundance.

54. **Tea-gardens**

When the British rule was established in Kumaun, boundaries of all the villages were fixed according to the settlement of 1823 A.D. On the occasion of bringing this region under the British empire people were given very high hopes. The English expressing their dissatisfaction over this settlement demanded that they should get good pieces of land in Kumaun. Formerly the English were not allowed to hold personal property here without prior permission. Dr. Royal in 1827 A.D. made a submission that the extensive piece of land of Kumaun on which cultivation is not done, should be given to the Europeans for tea-plantation. In India a tea-committee was summoned in 1834 A.D. In England thè Parliament, after a good deal of debate between 1828-1837 A.D. passed the law that the English could possess personal property in India. Mr. Batton declared that the village boundaries were nominal. So the high ridges with good climate were given away to the English as free land to enable them to live there and carry on tea-plantation. Now these tea-gardens have come under the possession of the Indians. The English found that tea grew here in a natural way.

In 1835 A.D. seeds of tea were sown. First of all Dr. Faulkner planted a tea-garden at Laxmishvar in Almora. In 1841 A.D. there were 3840 tree-plants in this garden but presently there is not a single one. In 1842 A.D. a few Chinese came from China to produce tea. Dr. Faulkner carried to England some tea produced at Almora. It was found to be quite good. In 1838 A.D. Mr. Fortune was sent to China to have a training in tea-production. He brought a few Chinese with him. Then tea-gardens were planted here at many places. In 1841 A.D. Major Corbett planted a tea-garden in Hawalbag which was first purchased by the government and later on by Lala Amar Nath Sah. Now it is in the possession of the affluent Tripathis of Kholta. Again in 1850 Mr. Ramsay planted a tea-

garden in Katyur which was purchased by Mr. Norman Troupe. Tea-gardens were planted in Vajyula, Gvaldam, Dumlot, Oda, Lodh, Dunagiri, Jalna, Binsar, Gaulpaladi, Saniudyar, Beninag, Dol, Lohaghat, Jhaltola, Kausani, Syahidevi, Chaukodi, Chhidapani etc. Out of these Kausani, Beninag and Lodh earned good name; they produced high quality tea. The tea produced at Kausani now remains in name only. That estate has been taken by the government and given in *Jagir* to army pensioners. Now Thakur Devi Singh and Dan Singh Bisht are manufacturing most of the tea in Chaukodi and Beninag. There alone now remain the biggest tea gardens here. Till 1907 A.D. there were 20 tea-gardens here but now the tea of Assam, Nilgiri, Darjeeling and Lanka has very much harmed this only industry of Kumaun. Mr. Ramsay had opened a cart-road in 1892 A.D. for the benefit of the tea-gardens. He was the first man to make efforts to develop this industry here. The later English men adopted indifferent attitude in this matter. At present the tea-gardens are generally not in the possession of the English; all their free estates have come under the possession of the Indians.

55. **Free Sample Estates**

In the beginning of the British rule here, some of high, fertile and healthful regions were given to the English for the cultivation of tea and fruits. The intention was to settle them down in fine pleasant and healthy climate. Realising from them the average income of 20 years free sample estates were given to them. Even now except cess they have to pay no revenue. Their names are as follows :

1. *In district Almora*

(1) Dunagiri estate—It was purchased by Mr. Mani in 1866 A.D. for Rs. 5128/-. Later on Mr. Crau purchased it. Then it passed on under Mr. Earl, but now after his death it is on sale. The garden is now totally deserted.

(2) Lodh—It was under the possession of Madam Hendarson but now it has been sold. Tea is produced here even now.

(3) Kausani—First of all Mr. Ramsay founded it, later on Mr. Macklaud purchased this estate. Then Norman Troupe purchased it. Now it is a government property

and here land is given to soldiers in *jagir*. Production of tea had remained very little. Its parts such as Vajyula, Ayanratoli, Udkholi and Chhatiya etc. have now been distributed among the soldiers. The government has purchased it for Rs.1,55,600/-.

(4) Shyali—It is under the possession of Dr. Govind Singh Mehta and others.

(5) Dumlot and (6) Pagari, Jauna—They have been purchased by the government for one lakh.

(7) Beninag, Chaukodi—are under the possession of Thakur Deo Singh Dan Singh Bisht.

(8) Jhaltola—Half of it has been sold to the villagers and the rest is in the possession of Durga Singh Rawat.

(9) Lohaghat—Here there are two estates—Fernhill and Chanuvankhal. The first formerly belonged to Mr. Hensy, now it belongs to Mr. Talak. The second belongs to Mrs. Hauskins.

(10) Bhaisoda estate—It belongs to Lala Lachhiram Sah.

(11) Hawalbagh—It belongs to the Tripathis of Kholta.

(12) Pot—It is in the possession of Pt. Laxmidatt Joshi, Danya.

2. *District Nainital*

In Nainital there are four free sample estates—two in Bhawali—one belonged to Mr. Malina and another to Mr. Newton; now they are in the possession of Pt. Narayan Datt and Pt. Govind Vallabh. The third is in Bhimtal and the fourth is Kaipankusha Castle which lies above Bhawali. Many other estates are in the possession of the Europeans but they all are simple *zamindaris*.

56. **Dak-bungalows**

In 1833 A.D. there were 35 Dakbungalows in district Almora: (1) Almora (2) Bageshwar (3) Bans (4) Baijnath (5) Vainskhet (6) Champavat (7) Chhida (8) Dwarahat (9) Dwali (10) Dhakudi (11) Devindhura (12) Dyuri (13) Dhaulchhina (14) Gurna (15) Gangolihat (16) Garbyang (17) Ganai (18) Hawalbagh (19) Kapkot

(20) Khati (21) Lohaghat (22) Loharkhet (23) Lamgada (24) Munsyari (25) Majkhali (26) Masi (27) Naini (28) Phurkiya (29) Pithoragarh (30) Panuwanaula (31) Ranikhet (32) Someshwar (33) Sukhidhang (34) Takula and (35) Ekaki.

Besides, there are many bungalows of forest department and PWD where none can stay without prior permission. But in dak-bungalows anybody can stay on payment. The management of the dak-bungalows is in the hands of the district board.

Dakbungalows at Nainital :- Kathgodam, Bhimtal (1884), Khairna, Baitalghat, Ranibag (1866), Ramgad (1867), Pyuda (1867), Dhari (1894), Maluwatal.

In addition, in Tarai Bhavar there are government estate bungalows in Haldwani, Kichhaha, Kaladhungi, Bajpur, Khatima, Chorgalya, Ramnagar, Bailapadav, Chhoi, Kota, Mangoli, Sitarganj, Rudrapur, Gadarpur, Kashipur etc.

Bungalows of PWD are in Kichhaha, Haldwani, Nalena, Baldiyakhan, Bhawali, Ratighat, Garjiya, Kumariya, Sinauda, Katarmal, Khairna etc.

There are a number of bungalows belonging to the forest department—Kilberi, Niglat, Jhaludeo, Kalauna, Haldwani, Dechaunri, Ukhalyun, Chorgalya, Horai, Anwalakheda, Dhanaur, Tamadhaun, Syuntara, Jaulasal, Kaladeo, Senapani, Danda, Lodh, Basarkhet, Khathauti, Ramnagar, Maladhan, Gajaria, Durum, Dophad, Dhela, Mohan and Dungalgaon, Parkot, Bhatgaon, Ganiyandyoli, Syuni, Ruvaichvain, Badechhina, Bajawada, Kanarichhina, Ganai, Shandeo, Thal, Beninag, Binsar, Askot, Pathariya, Dinapani, Maharpali, Gananath, Gadakhet, Dhuraphat, Lamagada, Kabaleshwar.

The bungalows located on beautiful peaks in the midst of attractive scenes and healthy climate are nothing less than pleasure-house. All the modern amenities are available there.

57. Roads in Kumaun

Rail Roads—The following branches of Kumaun-Rohilkhand-railway lie within the boundary of Kumaun.

Railway stations lying within the boundary of Kumaun—Bareilly-Kathgodam line—(66 miles)—Kichchhaha, Lalkuan, Haldwani, Kathgodam.

Moradabad-Kashipur (30 miles)—Kashipur-Burhanpur.

Lalkuan-Ramnagar (58 miles)—Lalkuan-Gularbhoj, Bajpur, Sarkada, Kashipur, Ramnagar.

Pilibhit-Tanakpur (31 miles)—Majhaula, Khatima, Chakarpur, Banabasa, Tanakpur.

All the railway lines lie in Bhavar Tarai.

Kathgodam-Bareilly line was opened in 1882 A.D. but became operative in 1884 A.D. Pilibhit-Tanakpur line was opened in 1909-10 A.D. and Ramnagar-Lalkuan line in 1905-06 A.D.

Roads —Roads existed in the time of the native kings, but they were not always properly repaired. The villagers were ordered to keep the roads clean. The roads on the side where the king went on tour were cleaned. They were generally cleaned when the army or big officers, passed through them.

Pt. Ramdatt Tripathi writes that during the time of King Kartikeya there were 2000 bridges made of strong *devadaru* wood on every river in the state. They all were constructed and repaired at the cost of the government. The width of the highway was 3, 4, 5, 6, cubits according to the need.

The Gorkhas had constructed a road from Kali to Alakhnanda. It extended from Kali to Srinagar via Almora. On it mile-stones also were pitched. It was got constructed by the villagers through forced labour. During the times of the English also a number of roads were got constructed through forced labour. Mr. Traill got the roads constructed by the prisoners. The English writers have themselves mentioned these things. The Gorkhas have built stairs at various places in the mountains.

For coming and going and business communications there were the following passes between the plains and the mountains :

(1) Chilkiya or Dhikuli—Now called Ramnagar.
(2) Kota Bhavar—Even now known by the same name.
(3) Bamauri—Now it is called Kathgodam. A village named Bamauri lies near it.
(4) Timali Brahmadeo—Now it is called Tanakpur. There are other minor roads called 'Chorghate'. One such road connects Chorgalya and Chauganda. Other roads are as follows:

Nainital

Motorable and cart-roads

(1) Bareilly-Kathgodam-mettled grade I—60 miles.
(2) Kathgodam-Nainital-mettled grade I—22 miles.
(3) Kathgodam-Ranikhet-Almora—82 miles.

The road from Ranikhet to Almora at present is not in good condition.

Unmetalled Card-Roads

1. From Ramnagar to Ranikhet – 30 miles

Grade II roads having bridges

Ranibagh-Almora (via Bhimtal)	–	35	miles
Ranibagh-Nainital	–	12	miles
Ramnagar-Khairna	–	28	miles
Nainital-Ramgarh	–	12	miles
Ramgarh-Almora	–	20	miles
Bhawali-Bhimtal	–	3	miles
Nathuwakhan-Mukteshwar	–	3	miles

The following roads have bridges at places and at places have no bridges.

Nainital-Moradabad	–	12	miles
Ramnagar-Moradabad	–	13	miles
Sultanpur-Bijnor	–	18	miles
Kashipur-Dadhiyal	–	6	miles
Kashipur-Thakurdwara	–	4	miles
Jaspur-Rehad	–	5	miles

Grade III Roads

Nainital-Godappu	—	21	miles
Nainital-Ratighat	—	7	miles
Ramnagar-Khairna	—	28	miles
Khairna-Ghuradi	—	8	miles
Ramgad-Dechaunri	—	24	miles
Dechaunri-Bajari	—	9	miles
Bhimtal-Mornaula	—	21	miles
Pyuda-Mukteshwar-Dhari	—	14	miles

Grade IV Roads

Jaspur-Ramnagar	—	12	miles
Bhimtal-Maluvatal	—	8	miles
Betalghat-Danapu	—	6	miles
Betalghat-Kalakhet	—	6	miles

Roads belonging to the ruling estates (In Tarai Bhavar)

Kashipur-Sultanpur-Kichcha-Satarganj			
Khatima-Melaghat	—	74	miles
Kichcha-Bara-Satarganj	—	14	miles
Satarganj-Chorgalya	—	8	miles
Sultanpur-Chhoi	—	15	miles
Brahmadeo-Hardwar	—	67	miles
Satarganj-Kathgodam	—	27	miles
Akhrauli-Horai	—	3	miles
Pilibhit-Khatima-Brahmadeo	—	30	miles (18 in Nainital)
Satarganj-Pilibhit	—	5	miles
Haldwani-Papalarao-Barakheda-Sakeniya	—	20	miles
Pipalarao-Chakalua	—	7	miles
Dechaunri-Ginnigaon Musabangar	—	5	miles
Bailpadao-Shaphakhan	—	11	miles
Ramnagar-Kota	—	10	miles
Ramnagar-Karai	—	4	miles

Rudrapur-Haldwani	—	20	miles
Kichchhaha-Darau	—	5	miles
Shivanathpur-Amapokhara-Ramnagar	—	9	miles
Kishanpur-Dolpokhara	—	3	miles
Sherpur-Kotabag	—	3	miles
Kota-Kaladhungi	—	6	miles

These are the main roads. We have not mentioned the names of smaller pathways. Boats also ply in the major rivers of all the *parganas* of Tarai.

Almora

In Almora about 200 miles road belongs to PWD and 1000-1200 miles road to district board. From Almora roads lead to almost all the *parganas*. From here roads lead to Pindari Glacier, Tibet, Kailash and Manasarovar also.

From Kathgodam Almora is 82 miles by motorable road and 37 miles by footpath. First motor lorry was introduced here in 1920. Since then motor transport has become quite popular.

Cart Roads (metalled)

From Almora to Garuda via Kausani and Someshwar — 42 miles

Unmetalled

From Bhatraunchkhan to Bhikiyasain-about 18 miles. This road was constructed for *yatraline*, but owing to its being unmetalled motor vehicles are not to be plied on it without prior permission.

Grade II Roads

Almora-Champavat — 52 miles.

Almora-Lohaghat — 52 miles	Via Lamagada, Moranaula, Devidhura, Khetikhan; one road

Almora-Jhulaghat (via Sor-Gangoli) — 68 miles

from Khetikhan leads to Champavat and another to Lohaghat.

Almora-Askot (via Beninag, Ganai, Thal)	—	70 miles
Bagishwar-Baijnath	—	12 miles
Bagishwar-Dwarahat	—	27 miles
Bagishwar-Bhawali	—	26 miles
Baitalghat-Tadikhet	—	7 miles
Baitalghat-Bhikiyasain	—	14 miles
Devalthal-Kanalichhina	—	6 miles
Darama-Khela	—	21 miles
Dwarahat-Saraikhet	—	31 miles
Dyarighat-Majkhali	—	4 miles
Garjiya-Milam	—	61 miles
Hawalbagh-Almora	—	4 miles
Kharbagada-Phurakiya	—	26 miles
Majkhali-Somesnwar	—	14 miles
Kharabagada-Talladanpur	—	36 miles
Marchula-Sitauli	—	1 mile
Marchula-Mohan	—	6 miles
Mohan-Panuvakhal	—	46 miles
Narayan Tewadi-Sitauli	—	1 mile
Satsiling-Tejam	—	37 miles
Chaukot-Deghat	—	8 miles
Pali-Bhikiyasain	—	9 miles
Dhunaghat-Danda Kathauli	—	22 miles
Garvyang-Mallakalapani	—	9 miles
Someshwar-Takula-Binsar	—	13 miles
Jaulabag-Chhanauj	—	18 miles
Almora-Takula-Bagishwar	—	26 miles
Bagishwar-Kapkot	—	14 miles

Kapkot-Loharkhet-Dhakudi-Khadi-Dwali-Phurkiya (or Pindari-gal)	–	30	miles
Khairna-Almora	–	19	miles
Ghuradi-Almora	–	5	miles
Kakadighat-Syahidevi-Majakhali	–	16	miles
Majakhali-Dwarahat	–	12	miles
Dwarahat-Ganai	–	9	miles

From Almora Badrinath is about 126 miles but 33 miles of Badrinath-Almora line falls within district Almora; rest in district Garhwal.

Chhanauj-Jainti-Devidhura	–	15	miles
Lohaghat-Chhida-Pithoragarh	–	26	miles
Askot-Tanakpur	–	87	miles
Baijnath-Gwaldam	–	8	miles
Baijnath-Kausani	–	6	miles
Dhunaghat-Lohaghat	–	11	miles
Dwarahat-Ranikhet	–	12	miles

Grade III Roads

Askot-Garbyang road	–	66	miles
Panuwannaula-Saimdyo	–	4	miles
Mornaula-Mehaljhadi	–	43	miles
Jayanti-Mornaula	–	5	miles
Bhikiyasain-Ranikhet	–	11	miles
Silor-Pali	–	4	miles
Lohaghat-Rameshwar	–	15	miles
Gangolihat-Dharamghar	–	24	miles
Phurkiya-Pindarisadaka	–	4	miles
Kathbudiya-Dyolikhan	–	2	miles

In this way the net of roads is spread all over the region. The two *parganas* of Salt and Rangod have no roads, except village footpaths. Otherwise in all the other *parganas* and *pattis*, there are good roads.

At most places people have constructed good roads in their villages at their own cost. Patia, Jhijada and Kasun have good roads.

58. Journey to Kailash

There are two routes to Kailash—One via Vyans-Darma and another via Johar. Vyans-Darma route is good but that via Johar is said to be difficult. The traveller following the Vyans-Darma route shall have to go either from Pithoragarh to Dharchula via Tanakpur or from Almora. From Almora Pithoragarh is 52 miles and from Tanakpur about 65 miles.

Askot from Pithoragarh via Kanalichhina is 27 miles.

Askot to Baluakot	–	11	miles.
Baluakot to Dharchula	–	11	miles.
Dharchula to Khela	–	10	miles.
Khela to Tithila	–	9	miles.
Tithila to Galla	–	9	miles.
Galla to Malpa	–	9	miles
Malpa to Garvyang	–	12	miles.
Garvyang to Kalapani	–	9	miles
Kalapani to Pala	–	11	miles
Pala to Takalakot	–	6	miles
Takalakot to Balda	–	10	miles
Balda to Mansarovar	–	15	miles
Mansarovar to Darchin	–	20	miles
Darchin to Didiphuganba	–	10	miles
Didiphuganbas to Darchin	–	15	miles

The route to Johar is as follows—

Almora to Bageshwar	–	26	miles
Bagishwar to Kapkot	–	14	miles
Kapkot to Shyama	–	11	miles
Shyama to Tejam	–	8	miles
Tejam to Girgaon	–	7	miles
Girgaon to Tiksain	–	8	miles

Tiksain to Biri	—	7	miles
Biri to Bogadyar	—	8	miles
Bogadyar to Rilkot	—	8	miles
Rilkot to Milam	—	8	miles

Milam to Untadhura (17,599')

Jayanti (17000')

Kungari Vingri (18300')

Jnaniya

Tirthapuri

Kailash

Mansarovar

Roads belonging to the forest department

Besides the above roads the forest department also has constructed a number of roads which are spread here and there.

59. **Hospitals**

(A) In district almora the following hospitals are under the District Board and other institutions:

(1) Almora Sadar Hospital (some money is taken from the Octroi Board also).

(2) Almora Ladies' Hospital (It runs with the help from the Dufferin fund and Octroi board.)

(3) Pithoragarh (Formerly belonged to Mission)

(4) Lohaghat.

(5) Bhikiyasain } established for *yatraline*
(6) Ganai }

(7) Baijnath (Formerly belonged to the owners of tea gardens).

(8) Bagishwar (First belonged to Mission, now from 1913 belongs to the Board).

(9) Devidhura (Its building was constructed by Pt. Beniram Pande, a contractor; in his very name. This hospital is called Beniram Hospital.

(10) Beninag (Its building has been donated by Deosingh and Dansingh Bisht).

(11) Gangoli—Opened with the efforts and donation of Pt. Ishwaridatt Joshi.

Subsidised Hospitals

Dwarahat — of Mission
Jhulaghat — of Mission
Dharchula — of Shyamalatal Ramkrishna Mission (now Ayurvedic Aushadhalaya non-existent).
Kapkot (In winters its branch is in Tejam, in summers in Munshyari).
Manila (Its branch is in Khumad).
Jainti
Lamgada

Subsidised Aushadhalayas

Khetikhan

Devalthal

Mansi (managed by Seva Samiti, Prayag).

Gadital

(B) In District Nainital

Nainital Sadar Hospital

Police Hospital, Nainital (1902)

Hospitals of Kashipur, Haldwani, Ramnagar and Kalidhungi are under the district board.

In Bajpur, Kichcha, Gadarpur, Sitarganj and Khatima, there are hospitals run by ruling states.

Aushadhalayas : In Tanakpur there is a National Aushadhalaya run by the Congress.

(C) Leper Houses

Here there are two leper houses— One in Almora, second in Chandak, Pithoragarh : Both of them belong to the Mission and also get government subsidy.

The leper house in Almora was established by Mr. Ramsay. Since 1836 A.D. he distributed food and clothes to the lepers who came to the town. In 1840 A.D. cottages were built in Ganeshigair

for 20 lepers. In 1848, near the present hospital, in Almora a building was acquired and in 1851 A.D. this hospital was put in the charge of Father Budden. Then there were 31 lepers in it. In 1854 A.D. Missionaries raised subscription and having acquired the present place established a leper-house there. In 1864 A.D. Mr. Ramsay with the permission of the government gave Hawalbag to the leper house. It was sold for Rs. 48,000/-. This amount was deposited in the treasury in the form of pro-notes. From its income that leper-house was run. Laha Moti Ram Sah of Nainital donated Rs. 5,000/-. In 1909 A.D. there were 110 lepers and in 1931 A.D. 110 lepers here.

Year	*Average No.*	*Year of arrival*	*Year of discharge*
1931	77	22	10
1932	78	15	11
1933	80	19	12
1934	47	22	15
1935	95	35	28

Between 1864 A.D. and 1909 A.D. 500 lepers were converted to Christianity. For them there exists a Church also.

Mr. Oakley writes that during 35 years 50 children of lepers were brought up by the mission out of which only 3 turned lepers (*Holy Himalaya*).

(D) Other Hospitals

In Nainital, Almora, Haldwani and other towns there are a number of private hospitals and *aushdhalayas*.

Ramsay Hospital was established in 1888 A.D. with subscription raised from the people of the whole region but it was specially reserved for the Europeans and the Kiranis. Now only wealthy and respectable Indians who can afford to pay can live there. It was built in the memory of Sir Ramsay.

(E) **T.B. Hospitals**

In Bhawali there is a big T.B. Hospital. About 150 patients can be accommodated here. Charges are realised from the rich. A few poor men are also admitted. It was established in 1912 A.D. It is a semi-government institution. The government gives it subsidy. A committee chaired by the Chief Justice manages it.

With the efforts of Dr. Kakkad one more sanatorium has been established in Gethiya. In 1907 A.D. the missionaries of Almora also established a ladies' sanatorium on a *tibari* of Baldhauti. There is also a private hospital of Dr. Khajanchand.

60. **Cattle-houses**

In Kumaun cattle house is called *Khod.* In Nainital there are 55 *khods* and in Almora 15. Their management is mostly in the hands of the district boards. *Khods* lying within the boundary of the *chungi* are managed by the *chungi* board.

61. **Protected old buildings**

The temples at Dwarahat and Katarmal, temples of Baleshwar, Naula, Baijnath and Ranachula in Kumaun and a few temples of Gangolihat are among the protected temples. These all are worth-seeing. The architecture of many temples is praiseworthy.

62. **Post-offices in district Almora**

	Name		*Patti*
1.	Almora	—	Khasparaja
2.	Askot	—	Askot
3.	Binsar*	—	Kharahi
4.	Bagishwar	—	Talla Katyur
5.	Beninag	—	Malla Badaun
6.	Bhikiyasain	—	Valla Naya
7.	Bainskhet	—	Malla Tikhun
8.	Champavat	—	Talla Charal
9.	Chaubattia*	—	Chaugaon
10.	Chitreshvar	—	Valla Givad

(*Contd.*)

Name		Patti
11. Chandak	—	Khasparaja (Sor)
12. Chaupakhia	—	Saun
13. Devidhura	—	Kharahi
14. Badechhina	—	Talla Lakhanpur
15. Dhunaghat	—	Assi
16. Dwarahat	—	Malladora
17. Deghat	—	Malla Chaukot
18. Devalthal	—	Barabisi
19. Ganai Gangoli	—	Athigaon Valla
20. Gangolihat	—	Bherang
21. Gwaldam	—	Malla Katyur
22. Garbiyang*	—	Vyans
23. Hawalbagh	—	Talla Syunara
24. Jainti	—	Talla Salam
25. Ghulaghat	—	Naya Desh
26. Kapkot	—	Talla Danpur
27. Khela	—	Chaudans
28. Kausani	—	Bichalla Katyur
29. Lamgada	—	Bisaut
30. Loharkhet	—	Malla Danpur
31. Lala Bazar	—	Khasparaja (Almora)
32. Lohaghat	—	Bisung
33. Manan	—	Valla Bararau
34. Munsyari	—	Dhuraphat
35. Masi	—	Balla Givad
36. Majkhali	—	Riuni
37. Dharamghar	—	Nakuri

(Contd.)

Name		*Patti*
38. Nargoli	—	Palla Kamashyar
39. Panuwannaula	—	Malla Lakhanpur
40. Pithoragarh	—	Khasparaja (Sor)
41. Ranikhet	—	Chaugav
42. Ranikhet Sadar Bazar	—	Chaugav
43. Majkhali	—	Athaguli Palli
44. Someshwar	—	Baurarau Valla
45. Shama	—	Bichala Danpur
46. Saniudyar	—	Palla Kamashyar
47. Takula	—	Malla Syunara
48. Thal	—	Mali
49. Khetikhan	—	Gangol
50. Mayavati	—	Bisung
51. Bagwalipokhar	—	Palli Athaguli
52. Kairala	—	Valla Salt
53. Baijnath	—	Malla Katyur
54. Dangoli	—	Malla Katyur
55. Deval	—	Askot
56. Dharchula	—	Askot
57. Bhatarauchkhan	—	Kakalasaun
58. Binkot	—	
59. Syauni	—	

*They are seasonal post offices.

From Almora telegrams can be sent to Lohaghat, Pithoragarh, Mukteshwar and Ranikhet. Telephonic calls also can be made to Nainital and other regions via Ranikhet.

In district Nainital

	Name		*Patti*
1.	Nainital	—	Chhakhata
2.	Tallital	—	Chhakhata
3.	Lat Saheb Ka Camp*	—	Chhakhata
4.	Bhimtal	—	Chhakhata
5.	Jyolikot	—	Chhakhata
6.	Bhawali	—	Chhakhata
7.	Sattal	—	Chhakhata
8.	Patuwadangar	—	
9.	Khairna	—	Dhaniyakot
10.	Binkot	—	Dhaniyakot
11.	Ramgad	—	Ramgada
12.	Kota	—	Kota
13.	Pyuda	—	Kutauli
14.	Mukteshwar	—	Mahrudi
15.	Haldwani	—	Chhakhata Bhavar
16.	Kathgodam	—	Chhakhata Bhavar
17.	Ranibag	—	Chhakhata Bhavar
18.	Kaladungi	—	Chhakhata Bhavar
19.	Chorgalya*	—	Chaubhainsi Bhavar
20.	Ramnagar	—	Kota Bhavar
21.	Kichcha	—	Rudrapur
22.	Rudrapur	—	Rudrapur
23.	Darav	—	Rudrapur
24.	Gadarpur	—	Gadarpur
25.	Shafakhana	—	Bajpur
26.	Lalkuan	—	Kilpuri

(*Contd.*)

Name		*Patti*
27. Satarganj	—	Kilpuri
28. Khatima	—	Bileri
29. Kashipur	—	Kashipur
30. Jaspur	—	Jaspur

*These are seasonal post offices.

63. The Population of Kumaun

The first reference to the population of Kumaun has been made by Fransis Hamilton in his book *Kingdom of Nepal.* In Fatehgarh Pt. Hariballav Pande had told him that in Almora, during the time of the Gorkha rule, there were 1000 houses and in Champavat 200 to 300 houses. In other small towns in Gangoli and Pali there were more than 100 houses. Then the population of Kumaun consisted of 50,000 families. If each family consisted of at least 6 members there must have been 300,000 people in Kumaun. This description related to 1819 A.D.

Mr. Traill writes that in 1821 A.D. there were 742 houses in Almora in which lived 1369 men, 1178 women and 968 children and thus the total population was 3505. He had assessed that the population of whole of Kumaun was 300046. Mr. Traill has given a detailed description of the population of Almora town. It might be interesting to quote it here

Professional Brahmins	288	*Dom*		*Muslims*	
Banias and Mahajans	184	Bade	51	Traders	57
Goldsmiths	40	Artisans and		Servants	18
		Carpenters	33		
Petty businessman	53	Ironsmiths	27		75
Prostitutes	53	Tamtas	8		
Others	19	Chamars	8		
			127		

The population of Almora since then upto now has been increasing as follows :

Year	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Population	5773	7826	8596	10560	8359	9688

Other figures relating to population which we are quoting from government report would be more attractive :

District	*Area*	*Towns*	*Villages*	*Houses*	*Population*
Almora	5389	3	6066	127577	583302
Nainital	2721	4	1442	62119	277286

Population

Year	1981	1891	1901	1911	1921
Nainital	349628	368312	324019	323519	276875
Almora	351379	405882	453581	525630	530338

The population of the other towns of Kumaun has grown as follows :—

Haldwani	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Kathgodam	4012	5093	7498	7605	8536	11288
Ranibagh						
Kashipur	14667	14717	12023	12773	10576	11276
Nainital	7589	8455	7609	10270	11230	10673

Presently Haldwani is the biggest town of Kumaun. It is progressing while Kashipur is going downwards. Formerly Kashipur was the biggest town of Kumaun. This position has now gone to Haldwani.

Data relating to education and literacy are given in the lists below :-

	Brahman				*Depressed Class*				*Other Hindus*				*Arya*			
	Total Nos.		*Literate*		*Total Nos.*		*Literate*		*Total Nos.*		*Literate*		*Total Nos.*		*Literate*	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*M*	*Wom*	*Men*	*Women*	Men	Women	Men	Women	M	Wom
Nainital District	24153	17184	8733	809	33290	25052	383	18	63001	42355	10136	1045	9838	8143	873	117
Haldwani Tahsil	9139	6325	3857	269	6851	4411	97	2	19581	11551	2462	330	4961	3984	280	16
Kashipur Tahsil	1264	815	451	182	3106	2622	61	7	9787	8135	1855	150	712	626	268	81
Kichchhaha Tahsil	3628	2126	896	34	17013	13955	102	-	16861	10885	5589	462	497	388	319	6
Nainital Tahsil	10122	7918	3529	324	6320	4064	123	9	16772	11784	230	103	3668	3145	306	14
Almora District	68453	69606	20129	981	62149	59999	322	37	157037	157524	19523	709	1659	1587	129	12
Almora Tahsil	22813	22564	7780	621	20364	18983	102	17	50368	48075	7126	374	656	690	60	8
Ranikhet Tahsil	20809	21889	5838	135	17853	18072	97	11	47112	49610	5404	112	685	661	60	4
Champavat Tahsil	13259	13256	2755	88	9240	8365	51	2	21934	20056	1599	17	305	266	38	0
Pithoragarh Tahsil	11572	11897	3756	127	14682	14579	72	7	37623	39783	5394	206	3	-	1	-
Kumaun Tahsil	150551	152304	47550	2245	140786	130215	872	67	370420	362842	47484	2206	11867	10125	1070	141

	Muslims				Christians				English Knowing	
	Total Nos.		Literate		Total Nos.		Literate		Total Nos.	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Kumaun Division	35726	23904	3343	282	2284	2351	1151	1075	7669	929
Nainital District	30684	21216	2283	177	872	758	442	336	2828	338
Haldwani Tahsil	6918	3619	822	82	169	91	93	37	750	41
Kashipur Tahsil	9395	7913	604	41	144	125	12	6	213	26
Kichchhaha Tahsil	13194	9119	537	22	99	81	24	21	1421	251
Nainital Tahsil	7177	565	320	32	460	461	313	272	444	20
Almora Distt.	1758	1400	658	86	850	1066	434	515	2532	398
Almora Tahsil	824	658	361	50	321	404	170	200	1508	253
Ranikhet Tahsil	637	495	193	14	179	170	125	101	621	90
Champavat Tahsil	85	63	30	14	38	39	13	19	155	11
Pithoragarh Tahsil	212	184	74	8	312	453	126	195	248	44

In 1931 the population of the main towns was, according to religion and sects, divided as follows :

Towns	*Hindus*	*Aryans*	*Others*	*Sikhs*	*Mus-lims*	*Chris-tians*
Almora		54	4	3	1	188
Kashipur	6441	147	—	8	1101	21
Nainital	8089	72	—	27	848	437
Haldwani	5961	316	—	44	4909	58
Jaspur	2681	458	—	—	2810	88
Ramnagar	4021	12	—	—	1547	13
Bhimtal	1239	493	—	—	84	20
Bhawali	475	103	—	—	108	19
Ranikhet	2794	73	—	—	781	120

64. **Press and Newspaper**

A country in fact, progresses by means of newspapers and press. In independent countries press and newspapers actually guide the administrative policy of the nation. When pleased they extol even the ordinary politicians to the sky and when displeased they send to hell even the great ones. In countries, like Europe, America, Japan and South Africa great awakening has taken place by means of compulsory and free education and newspapers. In India there is strict control over the press.

The credit for opening the press and publishing newspaper in Almora first of all goes to Pt. Buddhiballav Pant. In 1871 A.D. he opened a debating club. When Sir William Muir, the then provincial Governor, came here he was highly pleased with the working of this club. It is said that he also adviced to open a press here and publish a newspaper. Mr. Pant opened a press here and also published a weekly magazine *Almora Akhbar*. First he himself edited it; later on Munshi Sadanand Sanwal. *Almora Akhbar* was the oldest Hindi weekly of this province. Its registration number was 10. The registration number of *Pioneer* is 1. Actually *Almora Akhabar* is *Pioneer's* contemporary. Till 1891 A.D. it was printed in

litho, later on in type. In 1913 A.D. Mr. Badridatt Pande took the work of editing it in his hands. He gave it a national colour. It made much progress. The number of its customers rose from 50-60 to 1500. In 1917 it was closed.

Deputy Commissioner Mr. Lomus was displeased with its policy. He threatened some of its partners and summoned the aged printer and publisher at his bungalow and threatening to imprison him compelled him to resign. He had also summoned the editor but the latter dit not turn up.

In 1918 A.D. Mr. Badridatt Pande with the help of his friends opened a press named 'Deshbhakta' and published a magazine '*Shakti*' from it. It was a national magazine. It is the memorial of the older '*Almora Akhbar*' and the only independent magazine of Kurmachal. '*Shakti*' was published in the time of Mr. Lomus. He took a security of Rs. 1000/- from the press.

In 1893-94, Babu Devidas opened 'Kumaun Printing Press' which published a weekly named '*Kurmachal Samachar*'.

Being displeased at the policy of '*Shakti*' some of the partners filed suits and withdrew their shares and in 1919 A.D. opened 'Sombari Press' from which for some time a magazine named '*Jyoti*' was published. Later on this press also was sold and the publication stopped.

In 1918 A.D. from 'Anglo-Vernacular Press at Ranikhet' a monthly magazine '*Himalaya*' was published but it was soon stopped.

From Kumaun Printing Works a weekly named '*Kurmachal Mitra*' was published but it too was stopped after sometime.

In 1918 one of the partners purchased the Debating Club Press and named it Vindhyavasini Press. From 1922 A.D. a weekly named '*Zila Samachar*' began to be published. Later on it came to be called '*Kumaun Kumud*' and is still being published. In 1928 A.D. a magazine named '*Hitaishi*' began to be published from Nainital, but it stopped within a year. In 1930 A.D. a paper named '*Swadhin Praja*' was published. Its director was patriot Mohan Joshi. This paper was a national one. After six months when a security of Rs. 6,000/- was demanded, it was stopped.

In 1934 A.D. a weekly named '*Samata*' was published. Its director was an artisan. It received a monthly help of Rs. 200/- from the government. Formerly it was printed in Indra Printing Press but now in Krishna Press. Since 1935 A.D. an illustrated monthly magazine named '*Natkhat*' is being published from Indra Printing Press. It is useful for the boys and also devoted to the service of the country. Except '*Shakti*' all other papers are royalists.

Presently the following presses exist in Almora and Nainital.

Nainital

King Press, Nainital (1912)
A.V. Press (1930)
Nainital Press (?)

Lake Zafar Press—From it an English paper named 'Lake Zafar' is also published. It contains local news and advertisements.

Almora

1. Deshbhakta Press (1918)—'*Shakti*' Patrika weekly (1918)
2. Vindhyavasini Press (1918)—'*Kumaun-Kumud*' weekly (1922)
3. Indra-Printing Works (1926)—'*Natkhat*' monthly paper (1935)
4. Krishna Press (1935)—'*Samata*' weekly (1934)
5. Kumaun Printing Works—

Ranikhet

1. A.V. Press (1894)
2. Iliyas Printing Press (?)

Haldwani

1. Krishna Press (1833)

Kashipur

Here also there is a job press.

Though Almora published the first Hindi paper yet the papers in Kumaun are in infancy. Press is not powerful there as yet nor any daily paper has been published from any town. Until the press is strong and there are newspaper readers in every house the progress of the country is difficult.

History of Kumaun

PART TWO

Vedic and Pauranic Period

Vedic and Pauranic Period

Archaeologists say that when five or six thousand years back the Aryans came to India, they first settled down on the banks of river Sindhu. In the *Rigveda* which was written there, it is described that the Aryans were divided into five tribes—Puru, Tritsu, Anu, Yadu and Trivasu. Among them the kings of the Puru dynasty were the rulers of Punjab. Later on they came to be called Kuruvanshi and Bharatvanshi. From amongst them King Tritsu was the ruler of Haimvat also. Formerly both Garhwal and Kurmachal were probably included in this central Haimvat itself.

The Himalayan region from times immemorial has been regarded as highly sacred and called by such names as Himachal, Haimvat, Hemadri, Himgiri, Hemavant and Giriraj. But its Vedic name is Sumeru or Meru. Mr. Sherring says that Meru undoubtedly is another name of sacred Kailash and it is situated to the north of Almora and as for the Christians Palestine is sacred, is their heaven, so Meru or Kailash is the heaven for Indians. Not only the Hindus but also the Tibetans regard it as heaven. Meru has been said to be of four colours: is the east white like a Brahmin, in the south yellow like a Vaishya, in the north red like a Kshatriya, and in the west black like a Sudra. It is said that on its four peaks there are four types of tree : *kadam*, *pipal*, *jamboo* and *vat*. In Hindu scriptures *

* दर्शयामासमे शीघ्रं मातलिः शक्र सारथिः ।
ततः शक्रस्य भवनमपश्यममरावतीम् । ।४५ । ।
दिव्यैः कामफलैवृक्षै रत्नैश्च समलङ्कृताम् । ।
न तत्र सूर्यस्तपति न शीतोष्णेन चलमः । ।४६ । ।
न बाधते तत्र रजस्तत्रास्तिन जरानृप ।
न तत्र शोको दैन्यं वा दौर्बल्यजांपलक्ष्यते । ।४७ । ।
दिवौकसांमहाराज न ग्लानिररिमर्दन ।
न क्रोधलोभो तत्रास्तां सुरादीना विशाम्पते । ।४८ । ।
नित्य तुष्टाश्चवते राजन् प्राणिनः सुरवेश्मनि ।
नित्य पुष्पफलास्तत्र पादपा हरितच्छयाः । ।४६ । ।
पुष्करिन्याश्च विविधाः पद्म सौगान्धकायुताः ।
शीतस्तत्रववो वायुः सुगन्धीजीवनः शुचिः । ।५० । ।
सर्वरत्न विचित्राच भूमिः पुष्पविभूषिता ।
मृग द्विजाश्च बहवो रुचिरामधुरस्वराः । ।५१ । ।
(महाभारत, वनपर्व, अध्याय १६८)

this land has been described as heaven and the abode of pious men. Sinners even after thousand births cannot come here. Sorrow, old age, worry, hunger, thirst and other calamities cannot here trouble the people who live up to thousand years. It does not rain here as there is plenty of water. Death has no work here.

This mountain is quite extensive and is said to be thousands of *yojanas* long. It is written in the *Bhagavat* that in the south of Sumeru exist mountains Kailash and Karabir and in the north mountains Trishring and Makar. Brahmpuri lies in the middle of Sumeru (The name of the capital of the Katyuris was Kartikeyapur alias Karvirpur. Trishring is the present mountain Trishul. Brahmpur was also the name of the ancient kingdom of the Katyuris).

For all the gods and goddesses of all times whether Vedic, Pauranic or modern, Sumeru or Himalaya has always been the land of penance, pleasure ground and parliament. Whenever the gods had to discuss about unburdening the load of the earth they assembled here. (Even now the councils and committees of the English have their sittings in Shimla, Nainital and Darjeeling).

Since the times immemorial the Himalaya has been regarded as the abode of Mahadeva and Parvati. In the *Puranas* Himachal is described as a king whose daughter was Parvati. The other names of Parvati are Girija, Girirajkishori, Shaileshwari and Nanda etc. The holy places like Kailash and Mansarovar are situated in its lap itself. Ganga, Yamuna, Karnali, Satlaj, Sindhu, Brahmaputra and Kali etc. the main rivers of north India, rising from the neighbourhood of Mansarovar have been since times immemorial, purifying the whole of northern India. Mansarovar lies on the main peak of Kurmachal. From the hillocks below it rise the rivers Sarayu, Ramganga, Koshi etc. Nanda devi, Panchachuli, Banakata, Parashuram, Dronagiri, Trishul etc. the high peaks of the resplendent Himalayas, the permanent protector of the northern region of India, enhance the beauty of the head of a *chakravarti* king. All the passes Untadhura, Lipudhura, Nevdhura and Lebangdhura via which Tibetans come here and the people of India go to Tibet, lie in the north of Kurmachal. Some people conjecture that after the Aryans, the Sakas and Huns also came to India via these passes and spread over here. Dr. Laxmidatt Joshi also supports this theory.

Sur, Asur, Nar, Yaksha, Kinnar all loved this land. The Gandharvas, Haha—Huhu all danced here. Hannuman collecting the *Sanjivaniboory*' from this very Dronagiri saved the life of Laxman lying unconscious in Lanka and thereby turned the sorrow of Ram into happiness. The Pandavas also roaming at different spots of land here purified and freed it from the terror of demons and having dug out gold from the mountain Gandhamadan here, performed the *Rajsuya Yajna*. Here itself Arjun having pleased Mahadeva by his penances procured divine missiles such as Pashupat etc. when the latter had appeared before him in the guise of a *Kirat*. It is no wonder if the famous Alakapuri of Kalidas lay some where in this very region. The golden city of Kubera, the king of Yakshas, has been said in the *Puranas* to exist somewhere here near mountain Kailash.

In respect of natural beauty this region is in no way less than Kashmir. In the Kedar mandal purified by Ganga and Jamuna, though on account of the existence of good roads at present there might be continuous flow of pilgrims here, yet on account of the existence of Mansarovar and Kailash on the zenith of Kurmachal, its greatness has been regarded in the *Vedas* and the *Puranas* to be so much.

The great naths (protectors) like Badrinath, Kedarnath, Jagnath, Baghnath, Gananath, Pinath and Ramnath have been protecting this land. Goddesses like Jayanti, Mangala, Kali, Mahakali, Bhadrakali and Durga etc. are present here. The penance groves of sages like Kapil, Garg, Drona, Narad, Kanva, Vyas, Vashisht, and Markandeya etc. were also located here. All the eight Bhairavas, called the guards of Kailashpuri of Shiva are present here. Besides, the village-gods Haru, Saim, Aidi, Gwalla, Gangnath, Bholanath, Chhurmalla and Kalvisht etc. have been devotedly serving it.

The tribes like Dasyu, Kirat, Nag, Khas, Saka, Hun and Yavan etc. have been residing here since early times. The law givers on their part have actually compared this region with heaven.

The Saka, Khas, Katyuri, Chand, Gorkha and the English kings enjoyed various kinds of pleasure in this divine region.

Formerly this region was a staunch follower of Buddism also. Later on the sound of the drum of the Shankara's *digvijaya*

reverberated across this region and also its memorials, one at Joshimath and the other at Jagishwar, were built. The Jyotirmath was founded near Badrikashram. The idols of gods which the Buddhists had drowned in water were reinstalled. A *Jyotirling* was installed near Amarvan or Darukvan in Kurmachal. Both the places became lustrous.

The *Vayu Purana* and the *Manas Khand* (a part of the *Skanda Purana*) praise its virtue. But they abound in such stories and fables as are not only unintelligible but also in this scientific age are thought to the quite impossible. They are taken to be the product of mere imagination of the writers. It is very difficult to draw out historical truth from them. No doubt a few geographical facts can be drawn from them. Like the *Rajtarangini*, a great work of Kashmir, there exists no work on Kumaun which can be called a historical work and from which help could be derived in writing the history of this region. The people of those days were lovers of religion and wanted to propagate it. In their works the greatness of *tirthas* has been frequently sung. It can not be definitely said whether they allotted secondary importance to politics or social laws or did not then rightly realise their importance.

The Aryans have greatly sung the greatness of Himachal. This region because of being formidable, snow-covered and unsurmountable has been regarded as the mother of rivers. abode of Indra, and the habitation of wild animals. It has been decorated with the title of *Giriraja*. Whosoever comes here gets wonderstruck to feel the divine delight and see the natural beauty of this place. On this account this king of mountains is taken to be the abode of all the gods and the land of penance of seers, sages and *siddhas*. Each and every river, mountain, peak, cave and waterfall is said to have its relation with a god, a seer, a sage, a *siddha*, a *charna* or *bhuta-preta*.

In the *Manasakhand* the Himalaya has been regarded as more sacred than even Kashi. It is said that a person, who not to say of seeing it but only remembers it, is greater than those who perform all kinds of worship and penance in Kashi. Lord Mahadeva says to Uma "O Uma ! even in a thousand divine eras I shall not be able to describe to you the glories of the Himachal. As the rays of the morning sun dry up the drops of dew so the mere sight of the Himachal frees human beings from all sins".

The tract of land lying from Sindhu to Ganga and Mansarovar has been regarded as the place where the *Vedas* were written. It is also said that *Charak Samhita*, a famous work on the science of medicine, was written down in the same region of the Himachal, hundreds of years before Christ.

References to coming of Rama and Krishna to this place have been made in the *Purana*. Such places lie here where their sandals, their temples, and Sitavani and the spot where Lord Krishna killed Banasur. But it is a historical fact that Lord Buddha had come to Kashipur (Govishan). Hieun-Tsang writes that here he had promulgated Buddhism. There are many reminiscences of the Pandavas here. Bhimtal is known after Bhimsen's name. A number of big rocks in Devidhura supposed to be playfully thrown down by the Pandavas are known after their names. Also marks of the five fingers of Bhimsen are said to exist on them. In Pali Pachhaun also many places are famous after the names of the Pandavas. Viratnagari also is said to have existed there for sometime.

When the Aryans explored the Himalayas (Bhagirath traced out the source of Ganga, Vashishtha of Sarayu and Kaushik of Koshi) they came to know about mountain Kailash. The name Kailash exists in Tibetan language also. It can not be exactly said whether the name is of Tibetan or Aryan origin. In the *Puranas* it is named Swarnabhumi. Snow clad mountains in the mornings and in evenings when the glittering light of the sun falls on them, shine like gold. Gold is also imported from Tibet. Perhaps it is on this account that it has been named Swarnabhumi.

In *Vayupurana* the names of river Sarayu and Kaushiki occur. In the *Brahmandpurana* appear the names of two high and snow covered peaks Trishul and Panchachuli. In Chapter 110 of the *Vanparva* of the *Mahabharat* there is a reference that once sage Lomas asked Yudhishthir, the best among the Kauravas, first to take his bath along with his brothers in Nanda flowing nearby and then go to river Kaushiki where sage Vishwamitra had practiced severe penance. Accordingly Yudhishthir along with his brothers took bath in Nanda and proceeded towards the sacred river Kaushiki.

2. Manaskhand

Now here we are giving not the word for word translation of *Manaskhand* but only its substance so that the people might be acquainted with the greatness of Kurmachal sung in it.

Manaskhand is only a small section of *Skand Purana*. It begins in the form of a dialogue between King Janamejay and Pauranic Sut. When the King asked the Sut about the origin of the earth and the creation of the *tirthas* he (Sut) said that formerly there was only water in the whole of Brahmand. In it Vishnu slept on the *shesh-saiya*. A lotus emerged from his navel from which Brahma was born. From his (Vishnu's) ears were born two demons : Madhu and Kaitabh. They fought a deadly battle with Brahma for 5000 years. Then at the desire of Brahma appeared Mahamaya who defeated the demons. Then Vishnu in view of the boon to them killed them with his disc Sudarshan and adopting the form of a tortoise raised the earth from the water and then asked Brahma to create the world. Brahma first created the earth, the sky and the heaven and then divided the earth into nine parts. Then he created air, sound, time (past, present and future) and also emotions of lust and anger. He created seven sages—Marichi, Atri, Angira, Pulastya, Pulah, Kratu and Vashishtha—who came to be called Saptarshi. From anger Rudra was born and also three Mahashaktis called Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. Brahma was appointed the creator, Vishnu the nourisher and Shiva the destroyer. Later on *guna*, *karma* and *swabhava* were created. From the 13 wives of Kashyapa, Marichi's son, *adityas*, *danavas*, *daityas*, *yakshas*, *rakshasas*, *apsaras*, *gandharvas*, *nagas*, *siddhas*, *vidyadharas*, animals, birds, acquatic animals and others were created.

Modern scholars hold that before the arrival of the Aryans in India the above mentioned tribes lived here.

3. The Story of King Venu and King Prithu

From sage Atri King Anga was born and from the latter Venu. Venu tortured the earth and stopped *japa*, *tapa*, *homa*, *yajna* all. He said that the king himself was god. So, he should be worshipped, none else. The sages, killed him and when his body was churned two persons—one Nishada and another Prithu—were born. From Nishada, dasyus were born and Prithu became the king of the earth. As a result of the atrocities committed by Venu all the flora had disappeared. Prithu scolded the earth and asked her to produce the flora again. The earth being afraid adopted the form of a cow and asked shelter from all the gods. None gave her shelter; on the

contrary sent her back to Prithu. Prithu agreed to give her shelter if she again produced the flora. She asked the king to remove the mountains because they obstructed the creation of flora. Then Pirthu with his bow uprooted the mountains and piled them one upon the other, made the land fertile and named the earth as Prithvi. With this intention that the earth should again produce food for men Prithu produced Kamadhenu named Svayambhu Manu and with his own hands produced all the flora on the earth. Then both the gods and the demons produced various kinds of wealth from the earth and continued milking it day and night. At this the earth being pained went to Brahma who took her to Vishnu and Shiva. Vishnu asked Prithvi what she wanted. She said that she would be freed only when all the three gods came to the earth and resided there. Lord Vishnu said that he had already saved her twice—once adopting the form of serpent Anant and again adopting the form of a tortoise—and when she would bend under the weight of sins, he would be again coming to protect her. But presently he would not come.

Then there was a divine communication (*akashvani*)- "Sometime the head of Brahma shall fall upon you at Brahmkapali; Shiva shall appear at mountain Jhankar and *shivlings* shall be installed at many places, then in the family of Vaivasvat there shall be born a king named Bhagirath, who will bring Ganga on the earth. To protect you from the atrocities of king Bali I shall come adopting the incarnation of Vamana. Then the world would know that Vishnu has appeared. Then all your troubles shall be over and the mountain shall not be able to press you down, as I shall adopt the form of the Himalaya where sages like Narada etc. will sing my glory. Shiva shall adopt the form of Kailash where the gods Ganesh etc. shall sing about his excellences. Brahma will adopt the form of Vindhyachal. In this way the burden of the mountains shall be removed. Then the earth said, "Why do you not come on the earth in your own form but in the form of mountains." Vishnu replied, "The pleasure that is enjoyed in the form of a mountain is not possible in human form because heat, cold, sorrow, anger, fear and happiness do not trouble a mountain. We all the three gods will come in the world in the form of mountains." Saying so all the three gods disappeared and the earth went to her place.

4. Shiva's penance at Jageshvar

Later on Daksha Prajapati performed a sacrifice near Kankhal. There he invited all the gods except Shiva. Shiva's better half Kali went to her father's place uninvited. There seeing her own as well as her husband's insult she burnt herself down owing to anger. Shiva coming to know about it from Kailash disturbed Daksha's sacrifice and killed all and besmearing his body with the ash of the pyre of Kali started performing penance at Jhankarsaim surrounded with the forest of Devadaru and lying in the mountain Jageshvar. On this mountain of Kumaun sage Vashishtha resided alongwith his wives. One day these ladies while collecting *kush* and sacrificial wood in this forest saw Shiva in a nude state engaged in penance with his body besmeared with ashes and a garland of serpent in his neck and his eyes were closed; he had taken a bow of perpetual silence and his mind mournful on account of Sati's death. The ladies attracted by his beauty gathered around him. When all the seven wives of the Saptarshis did not turn up even at night, they in the morning went to find them out. They saw that Shiva was sitting in meditation and the ladies, were lying unconscious around him. The sages thinking that Shiva had molested their wives cursed him, "The organ with which you have committed the crime shall fall down on the earth". Then Shiva said, "You have unnecessarily cursed me but as you have found me in a suspicious state, I shall not protest against your curse. My male organ will fall on the ground and all the seven of you shall shine in the sky in the form of Great Bear." So in pursuance of the curse Shiva dropped his organ on the ground. The whole earth got covered with it. The *gandharvas* and the gods propitiated him and named his organ as Yagish or Yagishwar and the seven sages came to be known as Great Bear.

It was named Yagish because the ladies were collecting *kusha* and sacrificial wood for sacrifice. In the *Mahabharat* the story goes that Lord Shiva entered into immoral alliance with the wife of the sages. Swaha satisfied Agni and in this course the semen that spilled out she collected in a pot of gold and from it Skand was born. He was called Kartikeya because he was brought up by Kiratas who resided in Kailash. He had six heads and twelve hands but only one stomach. The reason was that out of the seven ladies only six had cohabitted with Shiva. The seventh, Arundhati, the wife of

Vashistha did not participate in this act. On this account Kartikeya came to be called Shadanan. The priest of Yagishwar also narrated the same story with the addition that Mahadeva had got enamoured of all the seven ladies. He met them in naked state. To please Parvati he playing on *tambura* and *damaru* performed *tandav* dance. Owing to the curse his male organ fell down on the earth. The earth began to sink under its weight. Vishnu accepted to act as *yoni* or *shakti* and cutting the male organ with his disc distributed it in all the corners of India. Since then Yagishwar or Jagishvar became a sacred *tirth*. The area of this land has been regarded to be of 144 square miles. In its east lies Jateshvar, Gananath in the north, Trinetra in the west and in the south Rameshvar. It is said that Shiva entered into sexual dalliance with the wives of Saptarshis at Ishwardhar.

5. Appearance of Shivaling

There was a divine communication, "In the whole of this world there is not a single spot where Shiva does not reside. Therefore, O Sages ! do not get astonished if the *shivaling* covers the whole world."

Then Brahma, Vishnu, Indra, Sun and Moon and other gods who were praising Shiva at Jageshvar leaving behind their *saktis* went away. When the earth began to sink under the weight of the *ling* and requested Shiva that she be freed from this weight, then the gods wanted to ascertain the beginning and the end of the *Ling*. Prithvi asked Brahma, "How far this *ling* extends ?". Brahma replied "It extends upto the end of the earth." Prithvi cursed Brahma, "Though a great god you have told a lie. So you will not be worshipped in the world." Brahma also cursed Prithvi "You, too, shall be full of *mlechchhas* at the end of Kaliyug." When she asked the gods they replied, "When Brahma, Vishnu and Kapil do not know about it how can we know it." Then they asked Vishnu. He went to *patal* but could not locate its end. Then gods requested Vishnu and he went to Shiva and after a lot of entreaty it was decided that Vishnu with his disc should cut the *ling* into pieces and distribute them in all the regions of the world. So the *ling* was cut into pieces at Jageshvar and distributed in the following nine parts : (1) Himadrikhand (2) Manaskhand (3) Kedarkhand (4) Patalkhand

where the nagas .worship the *ling* (5) Kailashkhand where Shiva himself resides (6) Kashikhand where Vishwanath resides (7) Rewakhand where river Rewa flows and whose rocks are worshipped in the form of Naravadeshwar. The name of *shivaling* here is Rameshwar (8) Brahmottorkhand where exists Gokarneshwar Mahadev and (9) Nagarkhand where lies the town of Ujjain.

6. Marriage of Mahadeo and Parvati

Later on when Shiva burnt down cupid (Kamdeo) he besmeared with ash, covering his back with a deer-skin, placing serpents around his neck with *trishul* in his hand, putting a garland of skulls and riding on Nandi went to marry Parvati. He camped at the bank of river Gomati (which lies in *pargana* Katyur of Kurmachal). There he performed the worship of Ganesh and rested at the confluence of Gomati and Garudi (present Garud Ganga) and sent Brahma to Himachal with the message that the marriage party had arrived. The place where Shiva had rested was called Vaidyanath because owing to his stay there all the roots and herbs of the place turned into medicine (The people of Garhwal say that the marriage of Shiva and Parvati was performed near Triyuginarayan but in Manaskhand it is said near Vaidyanath). Himalaya accorded warm reception to Shiva and the members of the marriage party. Shiva pleased at this granted him a boon that he, too, would be worshipped like him.

7. Himachala's greatness

Later on Sut praised Himalaya before Janamejay and said that Himalaya is the bestower of dharma, artha, kama and moksha. Mahadeva always resides there and gods serve him. There are many caves and much snow. Later on it has been said how sage Dattatrey saw Himachal from Sheshachal (Mount Vindhya). The sage went there and Himachal warmly welcomed him. There he took his bath in Mansarovar and saw the Rajhansa. Then he saw Mahadev and Parvati sitting in a cave where gods praised them and *gandharvas* and *apsaras* danced. Then he saw Ganga and also Brahmakapali and Saptarshis. First he praised Shiva and then asked him "Which is the highest mountain, where he resides and which is the holiest place in the world ?" Shiva replied, "I reside everywhere but Himalaya is my special headquarter. I reside in its each and every

peak. In Nanda Vishnu, I and Brahma reside. There is no mount equal to the Himachal, see it and obtain your desired object".

Bidding good-bye to Himachal, Dattatreya reached Kashi from Mansarovar and Kailash. There king Dhanavantri asked, "Which is the biggest *tirtha* in the world ?" The sage replied, "You are the greatest king, there is no *tirtha* greater than Kashi, one who dies in Kashi attains liberation because Ganga and Vishewashwar exist there. In all the three worlds there is no greater *tirtha* than Kashi." Then the king said "I have heard that in ancient times people ascended heaven along with the physcial body; by which path did they go ?" Then the sage told him "Not to say of seeing the Himachal, one who even meditates about it is greater than him who performs worship in Kashi. One who thinks about Himalaya would be freed from all his sins. In Mansarovar Shiva resides in the form of Rajhansa. From there rise rivers Sarayu and Shatadru. Mansarovar was created from the mind of Brahma. There is no mountain equal to Himachal as here exists Kailash and Mansarovar. By performing penance in Mansarovar Bhagirath brought Ganga and Vashishtha brought Saryu on the earth."

8. Route to Mansarovar

When the king asked puranic bard about the route to Manasarovar Dattatreya replied, "The pilgrim should go via Kurmachal. First he should bathe in river Gindaki (the present Giddhya or Giniya of Kali Kumaun) and then taking a dip in Loha (river Lohavati of Lohaghat) should worhsip Mahadeva and other gods. Then he should perform worship at the peak of Kurmashila and take his bath in Hanstirtha (Kurmashila at present is also called Kandadeva or Kandeva. Hanstirth is the name of a small river and a waterfall there). Then the pilgrim after taking a bath in Sarayu should go to Daruna and Jhankar (Jageshvar) and worship Mahadeva there. Then from there he should go to Patalbhuvaneshvar. There observing fast for three days he should worship Shiva. Then he should take a dip in Ramganga and propitiate Baleshwar. Later on he should worship Shiva on Pavanparvat (a mountain at Pali, a *patti* of Sira). Then passing through Patak (Dhaj mountain) he should take a bath in the confluence of Kali and Gori. Then he should worship Shiva in mountain Chaturdanshtra (Chaudans). Then he should worship sage Vyas at Vyasashram (Vyans). Then going to

Kalimul should worship the goddess at Mount Keral (In Vyans Keral is also called mount Chhechhala). Then he should proceed to mount Puloman where there is a pond (mount Puloman lies in between Vyans and Chaudans. There exists lake Man also called Vyansashiti. It lies between Jhuling and Raruvyanti). Then going to mount Tarak he should bathe in the confluence of Tarani and Kali. Then he should see the caves and worship gods, get his head shaved and observing fast perform oblations. Then he should go to Mount Gauri and descending from there take a bath in Manasarovar and offer libation to his ancestors and worship Shiva who resides there in the form of Rajhans. Then he should circumambulate the sacred Manasarovar and bathe in all the rivers.

9. **The return route**

When the king asked about the route to return, the reply was that the pilgrim should first go to Ravanhrid (Rakastal) and bathe and worship Shiva there. Then he should perform worship at Sarayumul. Then via Khechartirth (Khocharnath) he should go to Brahmakapali. Then going to Rameshwar should bathe there. Then passing via Rinmochan, Brahmasarovar and Shivanetra he should go to mount Nanda. From there he should come to Baidyanath and after taking bath in Briddhaganga should worship goddess Mallika, (at Mala Baurarau). Then he should proceed to Jwalatirth (Jwalamukhi).

10. **Description of other places**

Later on there are the description of the mountain, river and lakes lying near Manasarovar. Mines of gold, silver and copper are said to exist there. It is said that near river Pushpabhadra and Devabhadra Ramchandra after propitiating Mahadeo and leaving his elephants and horses behind had aseended the heaven.

11. **Names of the mountains**

In Manaskhand occur the names of these mountains : (1) Nanda—where Nanda Devi resides. (2) Mount Drona or Dunagiri—which lies above Dwarahat. (3) Darukvan (Jageshvar) (4) Kurmachal (also called Kandadeva in Kali Kumaun (5) Nagpur (Nakuri) (6) Darun (7) Patan (above Baleshwar in Sira) (8) Panchasir (Panchachuli) (9) Ketuman (name of a peak at Gauriphat), then Mallikarjun (in Askot) and Gananath is Baurarau.

Later on Nanda Devi is described. The names of the rivers Pindar, Vishnuganga etc. which arise from it are given.

12. **The glory of western Ramganga**

Ramganga has been named as Rathvahini and also Subama. In the Amarkosh it has been called Sushama. By taking bath in it one gets rid of sins accrued is hundred births. It contains the seventh part of Ganga.

Rivers Saraswati, Gautami, Sakati, Sar and Vailali fall in Rathvahini. These arise from Mount Drone. To the left of Rathvahini exists Nagarjuna where serpent and Arjun are worshipped. To its right stands mount Asur where Kali is worshipped. To the right of Nagarjuna exists Vibhandeshwar which is the right hand of the Siva. When the marriage of Shiva was performed with Parvati he requested Himachal to provide him a place to sleep. Then he made Himachal his pillow, placed his back on Mount Neel, right arm on Nagarjuna, left arm on Bhuwaneshwar and legs in Darukvan (Jageshvar). The river at Vibhandeshwar is called Surabhi as Kamadhenu had adopted the form of a river. Rivers Nandini and Saraswati also fall in it. All these rivers finally fall in Ramganga at the place where cemetery-dweller Shiva resides.

13. **Dronagiri alias Dunagiri**

River Droni (that rises from Vairati) rising from the high mountain Drona falls in Ramaganga. Above Drona lies Brahmparvat from where river Gargi (Gagas) rises. Duhshasan, the Kaurav, had come to this place and conquered the king of this mountain and installed Duhshasaneshwar at the confluence of Satradhara and Sukhawati (this place lies in Bansulisera and now this temple is called Sukheshwar). Dronachal has two heads and two feet; one head is called Lodhra and the other Brahma. In between these two lies the source of Gargi (Gagas) where Gargeshwar Shivaling is installed. Bilvavati, Vetravati, Bhadravati, Sukhavati and Shailavati are the tributaries of Gargi. On the confluence of Gagas and Ramaganga is installed the Chakreshwar Shivaling (now this place is called Bhikiyasaina). Here is installed Nileshwar Mahadeva. In the west stands Mount Varaha. In between Rathvahini and Kaushiki stands mount Drona. Here there are many

caves, beautiful trees and flowers, deer, tigers and creepers and also a plant named '*Aushadhi*' which shines during nights and laughs at them who do not know about its greatness. On this mountain sage Drona lives. Here goddesses Kalika, Mahishamardini, Vahnimati etc. are worshipped. In between rivers Shalmali and Kaushiki stands mont Vidraun and near it is installed the linga of Pinakisha which is an important place of pilgrimage (river Shalmali rises from Lodhra. Koshi is called Kaushiki and also Kaushalya. Vidraun is now called Vidhaun. Pinakisha is Pinath).

14. **River Koshi**

When sage Kausik with his hands raised towards heaven praised Ganga, Kaushiki fell in his hand and from there it appeared on the earth. Brahma who sat on the peak of Lodhra (Bhatkot) threw Shalmali down from a mountain. At the confluence of Kaushiki and Shalmali lies Falgutirth. Here somewhere Mahadeva is installed. By worshipping him one gets the fruit of the worship of Kashi Vishwanath. Near it resides Takshaka. (The pond near village Sarpa is called Sarpahrida). Above Chandrashekhar-tirth at the confluence of Godavari exist Mallikadevi and above her Kaushiki. There are two rocks—Kaushishila and Raudrishila. Above them lie Brahmakapal, Kapiltirth and Dharmashila. Above all these Pinakish Mahadeva is installed. To the left of Koshi lies mount Kashaya (Kalmatia, Kashar) and to the right Badaditya (Badaditya is the name of the sun temple at Katarmal). Ahead of it lies Rambha. Ahead of Badaditya lies Katyayinidevi also called Shyamadevi. River Shali (Sunval) rising from Jhankar flows into Koshi. Later on Kaushiki flowing through Mount Shesha goes to Madhyadesh (Bhavar). Mount Shesha lies to the left of Kaushiki. In its caves *Gandharvas* live. There are big trees, deer and tigers and Sheshanag also resides there. River Sita rising from this mountain falls into Kaushiki.

15. **Sitavani**

In between Sita and Kaushiki lies Ashokvanika. In the middle of Ashok trees saptarshis and king Satyavrata practised penance. There are Ashok-trees and various kinds of birds. On the advice of Vishvamitra Ram, Sita and Laxman once came here. Seeing this beautiful forest Sita had got so much charmed that she told Ram, "We should reside in this forest in the month of *Baishakha* and

bathe in Kaushiki." They resided there in Baishakha and for them two springs appeared there. Later on they went to Ayodhya. Since then the place came to be known as Sitavani. The sight of Sitavani removes all sorrows. (Sitavani lies in Kota Bhavar). Near it flows river Devaki (Dabaka). To the right of Mount Shesha stands Mount Garga (Gargara) in which there are a number of caves, mines of minerals, trees, birds and deer. There sages and gods reside. A number of rivers flow through it.

16. **Description of Shashtikhata or 60 tanks**

Mount Garga where sage Garga practised penance lies at the foot of Himachal. There are 60 tanks there. On the peak of Gargachal is installed Gargeshwar Shivaling. River Gargi flows through the place where sage Garga lives. To the left of Gargi lies Bhimasarovar and to the west Trishisarovar (Nainital) built by three sages—Atri, Pulastya and Pulah-who had come to visit Himachal. From Chitrashila they ascended Mount Garga. They were thirsty but there was no water there. They dig ditches and remembered Mansarovar which filled up these ditches with water. Since then they are called Trishisarovar. By taking bath in it one gets the merit of bathing in the Mansarovar itself.

Near Chitrashila stands Bhadravat tree on a leaf of which Vishnu swam in sea. At Chitrashila Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva reside along with their *shaktis*. There Indra and other gods also reside. At the confluence of Gargi and Pushpabhadra stood a big banyan tree under which Sutap Brahma eating dried leaves and having his hands raised to the sky practised penance for 36 years. Seeing him doing so Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and other gods came and granted him his desired boons. They summoned Vishvakarma who on the bank of Gargi constructed Chitrashila with gold, silver and other precious stones and the parts (*anshas*) of all the gods entered into it and the gods took Sutap to the region of Vishnu. One who performs worship at Chitrashila and bathes in Gargi, also goes to the region of Vishnu.

To the east of Mount Garga there are seven reservoirs which are most sacred of all the tanks situated at Gargachal. These are (1) Trisharovar (2) Bhimsarovar (3) Navakonsarovar (Navkuchia) (4) Nalsarovar (5) Damayanti Sarovar (6) Ramsarovar (Khurpatal) (7) Sitahridi. Bhimsen built Bhimsarovar and installed Bhimeshwar Shivalinga on its bank. River Pushpabhadra rises from here.

17. **Bageshvar**

To the east of Mount Kashar (Kalamatia) is situated Mount Swayambhu (Shimatola). Ahead of it lies Jhankar in which there is Darukvan (Devadaruvani of Daruna). To the south of Darukvan lies Shalmali (Salam) in which exists mines of iron, copper and gold. At the confluence of Sarayu and Gomati stands Moutn Neel on which gods, *siddhas, gandharvas* and *apsaras* live. There is also Agnitirth (Agnikund) and above it Suryakunda. Chandish had established Vanarasi-Kshetra (Uttar Varanasi) here for Shiva to live in. As soon as Shiva and Parvati came here there was a divine announcement praising Shiva. When gods came they said that as Shiva had been praised here this place would be called Bageshvar. Sage Galava said "Whosoever wants to get rid of his sins, should bathe in Sarayu. At Mount Neel sage Markandeya had practised penance. When he was sitting there on penance sage Vashistha brought Saryu from the North. When Saryu saw Markandeya she stopped there and turned herself into a tank.When Vashistha saw that owing to the penance of Markanandeya Sarayu is unable to proceed further, he went to Shiva to get the path open. Shiva and Parvati held a meeting between them. Parvati adopting the form of a cow started grazing near Markandeya. Shiva adopting the form of a tiger was ready to pounce upon the cow. Markandeya seeing this ran to protect the cow and chase away the tiger. When the sage got up from there Sarayu found her way and started flowing downwards. When Shiva and Parvati heard the sound of flow of Sarayu they came back to their original forms. Then Markandeya praised Shiva and said "Your name is Vyaghreshwar also. Shiva and Parvati disappeared and Markandeya went to Brahmalok.

18. **Danpur**

When is *Satyayug* Brahma created the world, everyone was given the share he deserved. Brahma gave the land between Givar and Darun to the Nagas and named it Nagpur (Nakuri). Malla Narayan, the king of the Nagas told the sages, "Here there is no water, so give us water." The sages summoned Bhadraganga and gave her to the Nagas. The Nagas saw Kamadhenu and asked for cows from her. Kamadhenu gave them five cows, prepared 'gothas' for them and ordered their daughters to look after the cows. The *gopis* saw Mahedeva in the forest, so he came to be called Gopishwar and the forest was named Gopivan.

19. **Patal-Bhuvaneshvar**

The temple of Patal-Bhuvaneshvar is located in between Sarayu and eastern Ramganga. Sages asked Vyas the following questions in respect of Patal (1) How does Mahadeva reside there in darkness ? (2) How big is it ? (3) Who are they, who worship Mahadeva ? (4) Who is the chief god of Patal ? (5) Who was the first to know about Patal ? (6) How people live there without the sun and the moon ? Vyasa replied "In Patal also there exists a world like that above. Even Vashistha and sages are unable to say where the world ends. They can know only that much as can be known by visiting Patal-Bhuvaneshwar. There resides Mahadeva. In Patal-Bhuvaneshwar there are three caves : (1) Smar (2) Sumeru and (3) Swadham. No sinner can enter into them. In *Kaliyug* they shall remain closed." The story as to how Patal was known has been thus narrated by Vashistha, "There was a king of Solar dynasty of Ayodhya named Rituparna. Leaving his capital be went to the North. There he killed a number of deer and birds. When he saw a boar in a river, he struck it with his sword. It ran away. The king pursued the wouhded boar but could not trace it. The king got weary and began to seek a shady place to sit. There in a cave he found a farmer sitting. On being inquired about the resting place he replied, "Enter the cave and you will get everything there." Then the king entered into the cave and there he saw Dharma and Nrishimha. Then going a bit further along with them he saw Sheshnag. The Naga girls caught hold of the king and brought him to their father. Sheshnaga asked the king who he was and how he had come there. The king replied, "I am a Kshatriya of Solar dynasty. My name is Rituparna. I along with my army had come here to hunt. While pursuing a boar, being tired on account of heat, hunger and thirst, while seeking a shelter I entered into this cave with the permission of a farmer. I must have done virtuous acts during my previous life as a result of which I could see you."

Then Sheshnag said, "Do not be afraid. Tell me which gods the four castes on the earth worship." The king said, "They fulfil all their desires by worshipping Mahadeo." Then Sheshnag said "Do you know that here resides Mahadeo ?" The king said, "No, I do not know who you are. I want to know about everything." Then Sheshnag said, "O king ! The name of this cave is Bhuvaneshvar. Even Kapil and other sages can not say where this cave ends. In this

cave three gods—Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh—named as Bhuvaneshvar reside. Indra and other gods, *daityas*, *gandharvas*, *nagas*, sages like Narad, Vashishtha and others, *siddhas*, *Vidyadharas* and *apsaras* etc. also reside here. No sinner can enter into these caves. This is the cave in which Mahadeo and Parvati reside. You can see them but not with these eyes; so I grant you divine eyes." When Sheshnag granted him divine eyes he saw there Patal and also all the *gandhavas*, *nagas*, *daityas*, and the king saluted them. Sheshnag showed him the 8 species of serpents besides these things (1) the shivalinga of Vishveshvar (2) Airavat (3) Brihaspati, the preceptor of gods (4) Uchchaihshrava, the horse of Indra (5) Kalpvriksha (6) the cave of Sheshvati in which Ananta, the king of serpents, lives and whose breath comes out at Bhrigutunga (7) Sage Bhrigu (8) Sanatkumar (9) Other *devarshis* (10) Hatakesh Sivalinga (Bhrigutung is a cave near village Pokhari in Gangoli from which air comes out).

Then Sheshnag took the king to other caves of Patal and showed him the path leading to heaven (*swarg*) and Genesh and also the Shivalinga of Satishwar. There he saw the earth placed on serpent Ananta and also the shivaling of Saureshvar and Parvati. Then he showed the king goddess Patal Bhuvaneshvari. Near her lay the *shivalings* of Bagish and Baidyanath, along with them to the left lay Gananath hidden behind a rock. Below in the cave he saw a light shining like *marakatmani*. Here sages were engaged in penance and sage Kapil sat in their middle. There was also *shivling* of Kapilesh and also the residences of *daityas* and *danavas*. Through this path the king reached straight to Ujjain. There on the bank of river Saraswati he saw the shivaling of Mahakal. In a moment then king came back and in a little cave saw Ganesh. There he saw the forest of bananas and also sage Markandeya. Then he again came to the cave of Patal-Bhuvaneshvar and in another cave which led to Setubandha Rameshwar, saw Chandrashekhar. This cave was 40 *kos* long and 40 *kos* wide and its walls were made of jewels. Then again in a moment he returned to Patal-Bhuvaneshvar from Rameshwar and entered into another cave and reached Godavari and bathed there. Through another cave he reached Ganga Sagar and there worshipped the shivalinga of Chandreshvar. In another cave Sheshnag showed him the hermitage of sage Markandeya and all the five Shivalings of Kedar. In another cave he showed the king the

road to Baijnath. There the shivaling of Nilkantha and Bali, the king of demons, were also seen.

Again he showed the king the cave of Brahmadwar (Brahmakanthi). There also lay shivalings on which milk of Kamadhenu fell. There is also a Shivakunda on drinking whose water without permission one is hit by the tridents of Shiva. Then the king drank its water with the permission of Mahadeo and the latter told the king, "33 crore gods live here." Then Sheshnag showed him the moon, stars, *gandharvas* and the great *lings* of Mahadeva on one of which Brahma sat and on another Vishnu. In these caves all the three gods resided in a single form. Then in the cave of cupid the king saw Mahadeva and Parvati playing dice and other gods praising them. Yet in another cave of 10 thousand *yoyanas* where a serpent was the doorkeeper and which glittered like precious stones and pearls and in which in their palace on couch covered with a milkwhite bed-sheet Briddha Bhuvaneshvar Mahadeva and Parvati were sitting. Then Sheshnag through another cave took the king to Kailash where he bathed in Mansarovar. On return the king saw the cave of Sumeru in which Shiva putting on matted hair, hide of tiger and sacred thread of serpents was sleeping and goddess Ugratara sat there. And then he showed the king the cave of Swadham. There the king asked whose that divine light was. Then Sheshnag said, "He is lustrous Mahadeva but do not tell anybody about it. When the world was created Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva were born from this very light. The world is lighted by this light alone. Look at its middle and you will see there a form of Vishnu, the protector of the world. Those who are versed in Vedant and religious treatises address this *jyoti* as Brahma. Even gods cannot come near this *jyoti*; worship it. Through this cave a path leads to Kedar."

Then the king went to Kedar and worshipped the shivaling there and drank the water of Udakasrota (Udaknauli). Then he returned via Mahapantha. Seeing all these wonders the king said to himself", Have I gone mad or am seeing a dream. What is this Patal which I am seeing ?"

Then Sheshnag said to the king "You take away thousand loads of jewels which the *rakshasas* shall carry to your place and also take this horse whose speed is equal to that of wind and riding

it go to your place. Do not say anything about this place to anybody. You and your descendants shall lead a happy life. Later on a brahmin named Batkal will be born and he will tell the world about this cave."

Then the king thanked Sheshnag and riding the horse and passing through the Darukvan alongwith the *rakshasas* carrying loads reached the bank of Sarayu. There he found his army making searches for him. He came to Ayodhya and depositing the precious stones and jewels in his treasury sent the *rakshasas* off. Then summoning the queens and his sons and grandsons near him told them about all the things he had seen and distributed all the jewels among them. When the king was telling them about the things in Patal the angels of Shiva came and took the king to *Shivalok*. Whosoever hears the story of King Rituparna and reads the Patal-Bhuvaneshvar-*Mahatmya* shall be free from all sins and go to *Shivalok*.

This much is the substance of the *Manaskhand* and other stories related to the *tirthas*. In *Kedarkhand* there is the description of Garhwal.

It is difficult to say when *Manaskhand* was composed. The ancient writers have not given any date. This *Manaskhand* is regarded as a section of the *Skandapurana*. The whole of *Skandapurana* except this section has been published. Manaskhand appears to be a modern work composed much earlier than the time of Shankaracharya. Scholars have fixed the period of the composition of the Vedas about 5-6 thousand years back. Some say that they were composed 2-4 thousand years back. It has been surmised that the Puranas were composed in the 6th century. So far as I think *Manaskhand* was composed in the time of the Chands or sometime before them. Till now it has not been published except its substance in English. I think that *Manasakhand* has been composed in Kurmachal by Kurmachali pandits. Had it been composed outside it would have been printed like other Puranas. From *Manasakhand* historical facts are not got to that extent as geographical ones. In the Pauranic Age people had full knowledge of geography. Even small rivers have been described in it and the importance of even minor *tirthas* has been extolled. It is possible that it was composed to propogate Hinduism among the people of those days and inculcate devotion for gods and goddesses.

Its historical importance is only this much that at a time kings of Solar dynasty ruled Kumaun. Rituparna was the ruler of this place. Perhaps on this very basis Father Oakley in *Holy Himalaya* might have propounded the theory that the region of Kurmachal was sometimes a part of Koshal kingdom.

The second thing is that Nag tribe lived near Danpur, Nakuri and Patal-Bhuvaneshvar. There exist a number of Nag Temples. It is possible that the serpents worshipped there might have been the well known persons of the Nag tribe and were worshipped like Haru, Saim, and Kalbisht.

This much is certain that the name of Kurmachal or Kumaun can not occur in the *Vedas* as it is a Pauranic name. but we have already shown that the name of the north central part of Himalaya was Meru, and so this region also might have been included in the region of Meru. In the days of the Ramayan this region was called Uttarkoshal. In the *Mahabharat* this region was included in the kingdom of Uttarkuru. In some *Puranas* it has also been called Uttarakhand. During the rule of the Khasas it has been called Khasadesh in the *Mahabharat*, the *Varahisamhita* and the *Vayupurana*. When the *Manaskhand* was composed this region came to he called Manaskhand. In the 6th century A.D. when Hieun Tsang had come here, this region was included in the kingdom of Brahmapur of the Katyuri kings. The credit for this region being called Kurmachal goes to the Chand kings and to the Rajpandits of their times. The name of this region as Kumaun or Kurmachal became popular only on their arrival here.

20. Description of Kurmachal in the Mahabharata

In chapters 8 and 29 of *Sabhaparva* it is written in the context of Arjuna's *digvijaya* that he after conquering Himavant and Viscut went to Mount Swet. From there conquering... he reached near Mansarovar and conquering the land of the *gandharvas* he realised in tax the horses named Tittir, Kalmash and Manduk. That region was first named as Panchal and later on as Uttarkuru. The king of this place made a peace and in the form of tax gave Arjun divine clothes (blankets and silk), divine weapons (*Khukhari* and *Khanda*), hides of deer, horses, gold and jewels. Some hold that this description relates to Kumaun. These very things were regularly sent to Delhi from Kumaun. Dronacharya had defeated king

Drupada before the Mahabharata war and annexed his kingdom to the Kaurava empire. He retained the northern part but returned the southern part to Drupada. Its capital was Ahikshetra which lies 66 milies to the east of Kashipur. The Dronasagar of Kashipur was built at that very time. The Kauravas were perhaps also the king of Kurmachal which was then included in Uttarkuru. Both Mr. Cunningham and Prof. Rapson hold this very opinion.

The people of Uttarkuru (Kurmachal) told interesting things to Arjuna. "This town in no way can be conquered by the human beings. If you want your well-being you now go back as whosoever enters into this town, dies. We are pleased with you and this you take to be your victory. This land is called Uttarkuru where wars do not take place.

In chapter 52 of *Sabhaparva* Duryodhan names all those kings who had come to the Rajsuya Yajna with presents for Yudhishthir—

मेरुमन्दरयोर्मध्ये शैलोदामभितो नदीम् ।
एते कीचकवेणूनां छायां रम्यामुपासते ।।२।।
खसा एकसनाह्यर्हाः प्रदरा दीर्घ वर्णवः ।
परदाश्च कुलिन्दाश्च तंगणाः परतगंणाः ।।३।।
तद्वै पिपीलिकं नाम उद्धतं यत्पिपीलिकैः ।
जातरूपं द्रोणमेय महार्पुः पुंजशो नृपाः ।।४।।
कृष्णान् ललामांश्चमरान् शुल्कांश्चान्यान्शशिप्रभान् ।
हिमवतः पुष्पजं चैव स्वादु क्षौद्रं तथ बहु ।।५।।
उत्तरेभ्यः कुरुभ्यश्चाप्य पोढं माल्यम्बुभिः ।
उत्तरादपि कैलासादोषधीः सुमहाबलाः ।।६।।
पार्वतीय बलि चान्यमाहृत्य प्रणतास्थिताः ।
अजातशत्रोर्नृपतेर्द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ।।७।।

The kings of the hilly regions of Khasa, Ekasan, Hyarka, Pradar, Dirghavenu, Parada, Kulinda, Tangana and Partangana who reside under the shade of Kichaka and Venu trees on the bank of river Shailoda, between mountains Meru and Mandar, came to present to Yudhisthir, one Drona of Pipilika gold, black and red chauris, white pearls gliterring like moon, honey of the flowers of the Himalaya, greatly stimulating medicines of the north and other various types of things but being detained remained standing at the door along with all these things.

Scholars hold that these matters relate to the region of Kumaun. Pipilika gold was exported from here. The Tibetans dug and brought gold and carried on their commercial transactions with the Khasas.

In *versa* 43 chapter 121 of *Dronaparva* it is written.

अयोहस्ता शूलहस्ता दरदास्तगंणा खशाः ।
लम्पकाश्च कुलिन्दाश्च चिक्षिपुस्ताश्च सात्यकि ।।

The Daradas, Khasa, Tanganas, Lampakas etc. were on the side of Duryodhan and fought against Satyaki with stones, spears and swords.

History of Kumaun

PART THREE

The Period of Katyuri Rule

(from 2500 B.C. to 700 A.D.)

The period of Katyuri rule : (from 2500 B.C. to 700 A.D.)

We have already said that at present Kurmachal is the name of those *parganas* that have been described in the geographical and historical parts. The credit goes to the Chands who after the division of the extensive Katyuri kingdom into small states again brought the disintegrated kingdom under one rule and one umbrella.

When the capital of the Katyuri kings was first at Joshimath and later on at Kartikeyapur, it is said, that then their kingdom extended from Sikkim to Kabul. On this side the regions of Delhi and Rohilkhand etc. also lay within the boundary of the Katyuri kingdom. Mr. Cunningham, an eminent archaeologist, also has mentioned this fact. But Kurmachal attained its highest celebrity during the days of the Chand kings.

In chapters 27, 28, 29 and 52 of the *Sabhaparva* of the *Mahabharat* it is written that when King Yudhishthir sent his illustrious brothers Bhim, Arjun, Nakul and Sahdev on conquest they had to fight here against the *Kshattriyas* belonging to a number of tribes and they had gone with presents to the *Rajasuya Yajna.*

But exact details of those *kshatriyas* are not given. From a few copper plates and inscriptions it is known that about 2500 years back the Katyuri kings of the Solar dynasty ruled here. Some people also say that the kingdom of the kings of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhya at one time extended upto this place and Kumaun was included in this province of Uttarkoshal. Later on during the time of the Katyuri kings this region got separated from it. The kingdom of the Katyuris extended from Nepal to Kabul and it is also said that king Kanakdeva, the son of king Vasudeva, was killed in Kabul. It is indisputable that in early days the kingdom of the Katyuris had become quite powerful. But it canot be exactly said whether they ruled here before the Khasa kings or they established their kingdom after conquering them.

The *doms* or *dasyus* (the present artisans and *harijans*) are regarded as the ancient inhabitants of India. Who lived here before

them is not known. Whether, the Khasa tribe defeated these *doms* and made them subjects or the Katyuris defeated them and the people of the Khasa tribe came here later on ? The surmise on this point is that the people of the Khasa tribe resided here even before the Katyuris because their existence here has been noted in the *Mahabharat* which was composed 5000 years back. Dr Laxmidatt Joshi also says that the people of the Khasa tribe belong to the Aryan race :

"For the purposes of this study it is sufficient to say that the Khasas settled in these hills appear to represent an early wave of Aryan immigrants or a people whose features and language were very much like those of the Aryans'. *Khasa Family Law*, pp. 26-27.

They came here before tthe composition of the Vedas. The Katyuri kings came from Ayodhya and having conquered them established their kingdom here. Most probably their kingdom existed here for 2-3 thousand years. No written history of the period of their rule is available but there are a number of copper plates belonging to many centuries before Christ. In them is given the *samvat* of the period of their own rule which is quite different from Shaka and Samvat prevalent at present.

In the middle of the rule of the Katyuris here ruled for sometime the Shakas and the Huns but it did not continue for a long time. After the disintegration of the Katyuri kingdom the Chandela Rajputs of the lunar dynasty came here and ruled for about 1000 years. In the mean time for 2-2½ hundred years a number of Khasa kings also ruled here. Later on the Gorkhas ruled here for 25 years. After this the English came here in 1815 who as yet are the rulers of this region.

There is also a hearsay that kings belonging to even *shudra* caste once ruled in Kumaun. But the evidence on this point is only this much that in Kumaun there is a pointed peak named Chandalgarh *alias* Chamarkot. People say that a *dom* king ruled here for sometime (some say only for 2½ days). He had issued leather coins.

Towards Askot there exists a *Raji* community. They say that they are the original inhabitants of Kumaun and they were the kings

of this place; others came here only after them. The fact that these *Rajis* ruled here is only a hearsay. Except their own statement no other evidence exists. Now they live here and there in the wild villages of Askot. it has come to light that in Nepal *rajyakirtas* or *kirantis* ascended the throne but nothing about the rule of any *kirat* king in Kumaun is either known or has been accepted. Atkinson regards kings Jada, Jajada and Vijada etc. as *kirat* kings but in the whole of Kumaun they are regarded as Khasa kings. The Khasa tribe has been residing here from before the *Mahabharata* because it is mentioned in it that they were on the side of Duryodhan. But no evidence has been received regarding the existence of any *chakravarti samrat* of Khasa tribe. The kings of the Khasa tribe were only feudatory kings. They lived in forts located in every *patti* and were called *kot*, *garhi*, or *bunga*. Only there a few remains are found. This fact is also not known as to who were those *kshatriyas* whom the Pandavas defeated after the Khasa kings. It is said that their township lay in Dhikuli but all these facts lie drowned in the ocean of the oblivion of the past. Now there exist neither those kings nor their capitals.

2. The township of Dhikuli

Archaeologists say that the oldest township of Kurmachal lay near Dhikuli with the materials of which the present Ramnagar has been founded. The name of the town situated in this place, on the bank of Kosi, was Vairatapattan or Vairatanagar. Before the arrival of the Katyuri kings here ruled certain rulers of Kuru dynasty under the protection of the ancient kingdom of Indraprastha (modern Delhi). This is the same Vairatanagari where the Pandavas, in their exile, lived *incognito* for one year. Another Vairatanagar is said to exist in Jaunsar Babar also, though many facts about this place relate to the Pandavas. Even ahead of it, to the west, near Laldhang Chauki in Panduwala also there are remains of ancient ruins. No reference to Kumaun before the time of the rule of Emperor Akbar is either found in the works of Muslim historians or in any other local historical work.

Some people also say that the Shaka kings belonged to Kumaun. Mr. Cunningham on page 137 of the first part of his research works has written that king Shakaditya of Kumaun killed

King Rajpal, the last Mauryan king of Delhi. This Shakaditya according to Cunningham was the king of the Shakas, not the conqueror of Shakas, because Emperor Vikramaditya was called Shakari, not Shakaditya. But it can not be said whether or not Shakaditya ruled in Dhikuli. the Shakas and the Huns came here only after the Khasas and the Katyuris.

3. Katyuri emperor Shalivahan

About 3-4 thousand years back a king named Shalivahan came to Kumaun. He was the progenitor of the Katyuris. it is held that formerly his capital lay near Joshimath. King Shalivahan was a Rajput of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhya. The *rajwars* of the Askot family who are his descendants say that he came from Ayodhya and settled down in Katyur. Mrityunjaya says that he had come from Pratishthan located on the bank of Godavari. As the Katyuri kings also ruled over Garhwal from Kartikeyapur so the plea of the English writers that formerly their capital was at Joshimath, does not appear to be correct. This king was not the well-known *Chakravarti* emperor Shalivahan because the sovereign of the whole of India having his capital at Katyur or Joshimath is beyond comprehension. This much is possible that this place might have been their summer resort. But in those days when there were no facilities of roads, doing so was not an easy job. Thus it is quite clear that a certain king Shalivahan of Solar dynasty of Ayodhya came here and established a powerful empire.

4. Statements of Ferishta

At one place in *Ferishta*, a Persian historical work, it is written that Poras, the king of Kumaun, collected a large army and attached Delhi. Defeating king Dillu, the king of that place (after the rule of 4 or 40 years) he himself became the king and imprisoned Dillu in the fort of Rohtas. King Poras having conquered the regions on this side upto Bangdesh and on that side upto the regions of western sea stopped paying tax to the Persian Kings. People say that king Poras fought against Alexander near river Sindhu and was killed there. He ruled for 73 years. Discussing about the origin of Delhi, Mr. Cunningham says that if we accept the truth of the story that Poras killed Dillu then the geneology given in the Ferishta does not appear to be correct because in it Juna, the nephew of Poras,

instead of being regarded as the contemporary of Selukas Niketar has been said to be an assistant of Ardashir Babecan whose time is 226 A.D. Further the story of Dillu being killed at the hands of the king of Kumaun has been narrated in the *Rajavali* in the same way as the story of the killing of king Rajpal of Delhi by Sukavanti, Shukadatta, Shakadatta or Shakaditya the king of Kumaun. *Rajavali* is a hand-written book which Cunningham got in the old documents of Kumaun. In it the ruling dynasties of Delhi were described and in that very book the fact of the defeat of the king of Delhi at the hands of the king of Kumaun, is written. Pt. Manorath Pande Shastri writes that the songs of *syura-pyura* are popular in Kurmachal. It is said that *syura* and *pyura* are the corrupt forms of Alexander and Poras. But *syura* and *pyura* are regarded as the *paiks* (valiant men) of the Khasa tribe of the place.

At another place in Ferishta it is written that in 440-470 A.D. when Ramdeo Rathor, the king of Delhi, announced his *digvijay* the king of Kumaun whose family had been ruling there for two thousand years, opposed him. The fight continued for the whole day in which a number of soldiers on both the sides were wounded. In the end the king of Kumaun was defeated and taking his elephants and treasure with him he fled to the mountains. The king of Kumaun was compelled to give his daughter to the victorious king, Ramdeo. Ferishta does not write as to which family this king belonged. It is possible that this description might be related to the Katyuri kings. An ordinary king could not have dared oppose the king of Delhi. The Katyuris of the Solar dynasty might have opposed him. The boundary of their kingdom might have extended beyond Tarai Bhavar because elephant-fight was not possible in the mountains. This battle might have taken place in the plains because it is clearly written that the king when defeated fled towards the mountains.

5. The Capital of the Katyuris

Cunningham, an eminent archaeologist, says that the capital of the Kayuri kings was Lakhanpur or Viratpattan on the bank of Ramganga. Chinese traveller Hieun-Tsang also makes a mention of Brahmpur and Lakhanpur. He had gone there. He writes that both the followers of Buddhism and Brahminism lived there. Some were devoted to learning and the rest were cultivators. It is possible that

it might have been the capital of the Katyuris. Hieun-Tsang says that this capital and the state lay 80 miles on this side of Madavar. Some vouch for the existence of the kingdom of Brahmpur in Garhwal. But according to Hieun-Tsang it could not be there. Some people identify it with Badhapur which appears to be correct. The former name of Lakhanpur was perhaps Viratpattan. Lakhanpur might have been founded before the sixth century because Hieun-Tsang had come here in the seventh century. There is no doubt in it that in the seventh century the Katyuri kings in winters resided near Dhikuli. The penegyrists say :"

"आसन वाका बासन वाका सिंहासन वाका ब्रहम वाका लखनपुर"

Mr. Atkinson's surmise is that in this verse *asan* and *Vasan* are the names of the Katyuri kings but *asan* also means the cloth for sitting and *vasan* means utensils; Brahm and Lakanpur are actually the names of the kingdom and the capital. In the geneology of the Katyuri kings of Doti, Askot and Pali, the names of Asantideo and Vasantideo appear. Near Tamadhaun there is the temple of Sarangdeo is which year 1420 A.D. is engraved. Asantideo and Vasantideo existed nine generations earlier to him. So the founding of Lakhanpur in the sixth century A.D. is possible. Some refer to the existence of Lakhanpur in Johar as at one place it is said to exist near river Gori. However, one Lakhanpur is located near Almora also but from the map of Brahmpur and Lakhanpur given by Mr. Cunningham it is clear that the kingdom of Brahmpur lay in Kumaun and its capital Lakhanpur lay on the bank of Ramganga which is in Pali Pachhaun.

6. The story of coming from Joshimath to Katyur

The surmise of the English writers is that the Katyuri kings formerly lived at Joshimath; from there they came to Katyur. Their winter-resort was Dhikuli. Later on the Chand kings also lived there in winters. Later on they built their palaces in Kota and in other places.

Till the seventh century Buddhism was prevalent there because Hieun-Tsang has written in his records that both in Govishan and Brahmpur (Lakhanpur) the Buddhists lived along with a few Sanatanists here and there. Temples and monasteries existed together but in the eighth century Buddhism dwindled there.

Shankar went both to Kumaun and Nepal and driving out the Buddhist monks from the temples at all these places appointed Hindu *pandits* in their place. It was he who changed the priests of Badrinarayan, Kedarnath and Jageshwar. To replace the Buddhists, *pandits* from south were invited. It is presumed that before the arrival of Shankar the Katyuri kings also were Buddhists and later on became Sanatanists. In the time of Shankar they are said to be living in Joshimath from where they came to Katyur or Kartikeyapur. All the *thakurs* of Solar dynasty and the *rajwars* of Kumaun say that they belong to this very Katyuri family.

In Joshimath there is an ancient temple of Vasudeo. It is said that it was built by Vasudeo, the progenitor of the Katyuris. It is said that in Kumaun there is no temple more ancient than this. The name of the Katyuri king is inscribed in this temple as follows—Sri Vasudeo Giriraj Chakrachudamani. This king lived in Joshimath. Vasudeo is the name of Lord Vishnu. Therefore, finding his name similar to that of Lord Vishnu he also built along with that temple the temples of Sankarshan, Pradumna and Aniruddha etc. It is almost indisputable that the kingdom of the Katyuri kings extended from Sikkim to Kabul and in the south to Bijnor, Delhi and Rohilkhand. Ferishta, Cunningham, Sherring and Atkinson all hold the same view.

The stories regarding shifting from Joshimath to Katyur are as follows : (1) When a king of the family of Vasudeo had gone on a hunting, lord Viśhnu in the form of *Nrisimh* came to his residence. The queen entertained him with sumptuous meals; then he lay down on the bedstead of the king. When the king came back he was much displeased to see another male lying on his bed in his harem. When he struck him with a sword milk came out from his hand. Then he asked the queen who he was. The queen replied that he was a god who after taking temperate meal had fallen asleep on the bed. Then the king saluted God Nrisimh with folded hands and asked him to punish or curse him for his fault. Then the god said, "I am Nrisimh. I was pleased with the working of your court and so I have come to your place. Now you will be punished for your fault in this way : from Joshimath you go to Katyur and establish your capital there. Remember this wound will also be visible in my idol in the temple. When this idol breaks into pieces your family will come to an end." Saying so *Nrisimh* disappeared.

(2) The second story goes like this : Swami Shankaracharya came to the Katyuri queen at that time when king Vasudeo had gone to take a bath in Vishnuprayag.

From these stories it is clear that if the Katyuri kings came to Kumaun from Garhwal, there must have risen a religious dispute on account of which king Vasudeo and the members of his family were compelled to come to Kartikeyapur from Joshimath.

7. **Kartikeyapur**

It is said that the Katyuri kings after proceeding from Garhwal founded Kartikeyapur near village Baijnath, on the bank of river Gomati, after the name Kartikeya, the son of Mahadeo. The former name of that place was Karvirpur. They also found its ruins there. They also built there the temple of Swami Kartikeya, their favourite deity. They founded there springs (*naule*), tanks and two markets in Tailihat and Selihat. Whether the Katyuri family was named after the region of Katyur or the Katyuri kings named that region as Katyur, there is difference of opinion on this point. The people of Askot say that the kings of Solar dynasty came from Ayodhya and settled down at Katyur and from there spread all over; on this account the family came to be called Katyuri. But Atkinson says that the members of the Katyuri family belonged to the family of King Turuksh of Kabul and Kashmir. These Rajputs were called Katuri or Kataur. The name of the third king of the Turuksh family of Kashmir also was Deoputra Vashudeo. Vashudeo's son Kanakdeo was killed in Kabul by his minister Kalar. With that very family Atkinson identifies him and says that both of these are the same. But Indians will not immediately believe such statements. Atkinson says that the Katuri kings of Kashmir, after their family name, called this valley as Katyur. One may ask Atkinson why they did not establish a state named Katyur or Kataur in Joshimath, why they did so only on coming to Katyur as according to Atkinson's statement they first lived in Joshimath and came to Katyur only afterwards.

These kings ruled at Katyur for a number of generations. Ambassadors of kings of distant places resided in the capital of the Katyuri kings. Chittorgarhi might be known after their name. Perhaps the ambassador of the king of Chittorgarhi might have lived there. These kings were highly virtuous; they did not take their meals without performing at least one virtuous act. These kings

were greatly fond of building temples, *naulas* and towns. The whole of the regions of Kumaun and Garhwal are full of temples and *naulas* built by them. Wherever they performed sacrifices (*yajna*) at the time of establishing temples or performed any religious work or worship there they pitched sacrificial poles (*yajnastambh*) or lofty poles (*brihatstambh*) in the ground. Now they are called *vrikham*.

These *vrikhams* are seen even today all over. Most of the details about them are found from their inscriptions. These inscriptions are found in the temples of Jagishwar, Baijnath, Badrinath of Godsir, Bagishwar, Badrinath of Garhwal and Pandukeshwar. From these we know about the greatness of these kings. Specially five copper-plates and one epigraph of their time exist, they will be described here.

The copper-plate at Kumaun is in respect of the certificate of the donation of a village to Vijayeshwar Mahadeo. In it the names of the kings of three generations are written-of king Salaunadity-adeo, of his son king Ichchhatadeo and of his son king Daishatadeo. Their capital is written as Kartikeyapur. It is written about king Daishatadeo that his kingdom extended to the regions of Khas, Kalinga, Huna, Gauda, Madra and Andhra. The *samvat* given in this copper plate is 5. This *samvat* is not Vikram *samvat* but is the year of his ascending the throne. It indicates that these kings ascended the throne before the Vikram *samvat* was started; and on the other side of this very copper plate is written that king Krachalladeo endorsed the certificate of Daishatadeo. This king called himself a Saugat, (Buddhist). In this certificate of Shake 1145 is written that king Krachalladeo while returning after defeating the king of Nepal issued this certificate at a place called Dulu. So far as our researches go this king Krachalladeo was not one of the kings of Kumaun. Perhaps he might have been the king of Doti. Two years later *i.e.*, in 1345 *shake* King Vikramachand also re-endorsed this certificate. By then the Chand kings ruled only in Kali Kumaun. They were feudatory kings and paid tax to the king of Doti. After Kirtichand the kings of lunar dynasty ruled as independent kings. Thus it is proved that king Krachalladeo must certainly have been the king of Doti.

8. The inscription of Bageshvar

One inscription found in Bageshvar belongs to the temple of Vyaghreshwar or Bagishwar. Some call this place as Vyaghreshwar

and some as Bagishwar, but in the inscription it is written as Vyaghreshwar. This place is located at *patti talla* of Katyur at the confluence of Sarayu and Gomati. This inscription is of the time of King Bhudeo. In it, besides his name, there are the names of seven other kings who were the ancestors of the donor.

1. Vasantandeo	5. Nimbartdeo
2. Kharpardeo	6. Ishataranadeo
3. Kalyanrajdeo	7. Laliteshvardeo
4. Tribhuvanrajdeo	8. Bhudeodeo

All these eight were called *giriraj chakrachudamani* or *chakravarti* kings of Himalaya. The title *giriraj* is evident from their being the kings of the Himalaya. The inscription is written in Sanskrit. It is somewhat broken, its substance in short is being given here.

9. **The substance of Bageshvar inscription**

"Prayers and salutations. In the soutern part of this beautiful temple the scholars have inscribed the royal geneology."

"Bow at the fact of the Supreme God. Once upon a time there lived a king named Masantandeo who was the king of kings and highly honourable and wealthy. His queen was Sajnanarayani who knew none else than her husband. She gave birth to a son who was a *chakravarti* king and was wealthy and respected in his time. He worshipped Parameshvar and gave away much in charity and constructed a number of public roads leading to Jaikulbhukti and also arranged incense, flowers, earthen lamps and oil for Vyaghreshvar, enshrined at Ambalpalika. During wars he was the protector of his subjects. He gave, besides flowers and incense, village Saraneshwar also as a fief which his father had given to the Vaishnavas for carrying on the worship. He built buildings by the side of the roads. This *danapatra* (charter of charity) shall exist till the stars and the moon exist."

"His son was Kharpardeo. He also was an honourable and wealthy sovereign. From his queen was born Adhidhaj who was well-to-do, respected and a scholar. From his queen Laddha (Lajja) who was highly devoted to her husband, was born Tribhuvanraj who

was wise, well-to-do, honourable, virtuous and talented. He donated two *dronas* of fertile land from village Jaikulbhukti for the worship of the above god and ordered that all the fragrant things available at the place should be used in the worship. It is also worth-noting that he was a true friend of the son of Kirat. He donated two and a half *dronas* of land for the above god and for Gamaviya Pind. The second son of Adhidhaj donated one *drona* of land to God Bhairava and got written the donation of the two *bighas* in the inscription is *Samvat* 11. He donated one *drona* of land to Vyaghreshvar and 14 *mutthis* to Goddess Chandnanda and also got dug a pond. All these land donations are for the worship of Vyaghreshvar."

"There was one more king named Nirbat who was king, straight-forward, truthful, strong, sweet-natured, brave, generous, scholarly, docile, virtuous and cheerful. He bore good moral character and was endowed with a number of virtues, expert in archery and the science of arms and was born to worship the lotus-like feet of god residing in Nandan and Amaravati and had achieved eminence in the science of arms by the grace of Durgadhi (Shiva) whose head is adorned with matted hair tied with a digit of the moon like the string of pearls and in which the sacred water of Ganga enhancing its beauty thousand times flows and saffron flowers and serpents decorate it. This king crushed the pride of all of his enemies. He had golden complexion and his pure body always bowed down in worship of gods, demons and scholars and by performing a number of religious sacrifices his fame had spread all around."

"His son Ishatarandeo, born of the chief queen named Dasudevi and very much loved by her was not only a *chakravarti* king but also wealthy, honourable and scholar. His son Lalitsurdeo was born from his wife Dharadevi. She was greatly devoted to the king. He also was a *chakravarti* king as well as wealthy, honourable, virtuous and brave. His son Bhudeodeo was born of Layadevi who loved her husband very much. He also was a *chakravarti* king and a fanatic follower of Brahm and enemy of Bauddha *shramanas*. He was lover of truth, wealthy, handome, learned and always devoted to religious activities. He was such as Kali could not come near him. His eyes were beautiful like blue lotus and also sharp. The palms of his hands were like new leaves. His ears were being frequently

disturbed by the jingling sound of the ornaments, stuck to the crowns of the kings who bent their heads before him. His arms drove away the darkness. The complexion of his feet was like that of gold. He granted living allowance (pension) to his servants and beloved valets even on their retirement."

From these copper-plates the virtues of these *chakravarti* kings are known. Also the names of ladies have been given in these copper-plates. From this it appears that then there was no custom of *purdah*. Scholars were honoured. King Bhudeodeo was against Buddhism. Perhaps from his days Buddhism might have disappeared and Hinduism again had its day. From the statement "Kali could not come near them", it appears that they were the followers of passionless Shiva and against animal-sacrifice and worship of Kali.

10. **Inscriptions of Pandukeshvar**

There are four copper-plates in the temple of Pandukeshvar, near the temple of Badrinath. Out of these in two occur the names of the fifth, the sixth and the seventh kings mentioned in the Bagishvar inscription. In one copper-plate three generations of kings are written. Padmatdeo, the son of Daishatdeo, has been mentioned in the fourth generation and he says that his kingdom extended to the countries of the Kiratas, the Dravingas and the Udras and also refers to the countries like Khas etc. to be under him. The *samvat* is 25 and the capital is Kartikeyapur. In the second copper-plate one generation more is mentioned i.e. Subhiksharajdeo has been said to be the son of King Padmatdeo. He has mentioned the name of his town as Subhikshapur from which it appears that this town might have been founded by this very king after his name. The names of the provinces under him are those old ones entered in the copper-plate of his father Padmatadeo. The *samvat* noted in it is 4.

The third copper-plate has been inscribed by King Nimbartdeo. His son Ingagdeo or Ishtatarandeo and his son Lalitsurdeo. These three kings are from the eight kings belonging to Bagishvar. In it other things are like those in the copper-plate of king Subhikshdeo. The *samvat* is 22. In the fourth copper-plate the names of the kings are similar to those in the third copper-

plate. Besides the above countries he claims the extension of his kingdom to two more countries, Anga and Balonghra. Samvat noted in it is 21.

In one copper-plate is mentioned that Lalitsurdeo, at the suggestion of his queen Shyamadevi, gave some villages in Gorunnasari to Narayan Bhattarak in the 21st year of his victory over the kingdom. In it the name of the state-minister is Bijak, that of war-minister Aryat and that of the writer is Gangabhadra.

In the second copper-plate also on the occasion of the 22nd victory-year some villages have been given to Narayan Bhattarak and in it the fame of this Bhattarak has been sung as under. "Who is worshipped by the scholars of the hermitage of Garuda." It appears that in the hermitage of Garuda such scholars lived as devoted themselves to scholarly pursuits and Narayan Bhattarak was their teacher. The fief of village Tapoban situated on the bank of Alakhnanda has been granted to him. There exist the signatures of the very kings whose names have been mentioned above. In these copper-plates occur three names (1) King Nimvartdeo and his queen Nathudevi (2) King Ishtangdeo and his queen Dishadevi. (3) King Lalitsurdeo and his queen Shyamadevi.

All these copper-plates have been issued under the seal of Kartikeyapur. In other two copper-plates occur the names of other kings who had donated land to the temple of Baleshvar of Kali Kumaun also. Out of these also one was issued from Kartikeyapur. The date is as under : the advancing victory *samvat* 5 in the fifth year of his reign this edict is in the names of the managers of the regions of Ishal. Daishatadeo has issued it and has granted the fief of the village of Yamuna to Vijneshvar. In this copper-plate occur the names of Salonaditya and his queen Sindhudevi whose son is Daishatadeo. In it the name of the state-minister is Bhatt Harisharma, that of war-minister Nandaditya and that of writer Bhadra and the inscription is kept in the temple of Baleshvar. The second copper-plate which was issued from Kartikeyapur in victory year 25, *samvat* 25 is in the name of the government functionaries of Tanganpur. Padmatdeo, the son of Daishatadeo has donated the fief of the four villages of Drumati in the name of Badrinath. In it besides the above names, the name of Padmamalldevi, the queen of Daishatadeo also occurs. The name of

state-minister is Bhattadhan, that of war-minister Narayandatt and that of the writer Nandbhadra. This copper plate is kept in Pandukeshvar.

The copper-plate bearing the seal of Subhikshpur was issued in the fourth year of the victory. In it the donor is Subhiksharajdeo, the son of Padmatdeo. It has been issued in the names of the officers of Tanganpur and Atanrang. In it the village named Vidmalaka, along with some more land, has been given to Narayanbhattarak and the village named Ranapali, lying to the north of Ganga, to Brahmeshvar Bhattarak. The state-minister is Kamalapati, the commander is Ishvaradatt and the writer is Nandbhadra. All the names have been found as under: (*i*) Salaunaditya and his queen Simhavalidevi; (2) Ichchhatadeo, his queen Sindhudevi ; (3) Daishatadeo, his queen Padamalladevi ; (4) Padmatdeo, his queen Ishalladevi (5) Subhikshrajdeo.

The dates mentioned in them appear to have commenced from the dates, the kings ascended the throne. The exact years cannot be ascertained. The *Vikram Samvat* has not been given in them.

Among them the copper-plate of Pandukeshvar is the biggest. It is in the shape of the writing-slate of small children. In the place of the handle of the slate Nandi is carved. This copper-plate is not well-written. The lines are legible. The script is curved Pali. Mr Ramsay, the popular commissioner of this place, had sent a copper-plate of this place to Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, a well-known archaeologist of Bengal. As this inscription is of great historical importance so its full Sanskrit-text and its English version are given here.

११. पांडुकेश्वर का बड़ा शिला-लेख

[संस्कृत मूल]

(१) स्वस्तिश्रीमत्कार्त्तिकेय्यपुरात्सकल्लामरदिति तनुजमनुज भक्तिभाव भरभारानमिता मितोत्तमांग संडि विक्टमुकुट कीरिटविट्ङ्क कोटिशो लोक्ता--

(२) नाना (ताता) यक प्रदीप दीपदीधिति पान्मदरक्त चरणक्मलामलविपुल बहुल किरणकेशरासा रसारिता शेषविशेष मोषिघ्नतमस्तेजससस्वर्धुनी धौतजटाजूटस्य--

(३) भगवतो धूर्ज्जटेः प्रसादान्निजभुजो पार्ज्जितोज्जित्यनिर्जित रिपुतिमिरलब्धोदय प्रकाशदया दाक्षिण्य सत्य सत्वशील शौच शौर्योदार्यगाम्भीर्यमर्यादार्यवृत्ताश्चार्य--

(४) कार्यवर्यादि गुणगणालंकृतशरीरः महासुकृति संतानबीजावतारः कृत युगागम भूपाल ललितकीर्तिः नंदा भगवतीचरणकमल कमलासनाथमूर्तिः श्रीमिम्बरस्तस्यत--

(५) नयस्तत्पादानुध्यातो राज्ञा महादेवी श्रीनाथूदेवी तस्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरः परमब्रह्मणयः शितकृपाणाधारोत्कृतमत्ते भकुम्भाकृष्टोत्कृष्ट मुक्तावलीयशः पताका--

(६) च्छायचन्द्रिका पहसित तारागणः परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वरश्रीमदिष्टगणदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो राज्ञी महादेवी श्रीवेगदेवी तस्यामुत्पन्नः परममाहेश्वरः --

(७) परमब्रहमणयः कलिकलंक पंकातंक मगनधरण्युद्धाद्धारधारितधौरेय वरवराहचरितः सहजमतिविभव विभुविभूतिस्थगिताराचक्रः प्रतापदहनः। अतिवै भवसंहारारम्भ--

(८) संभृतभीम भ्रुकुटि कुटिल केसरिसटा भीतभीता रातीभकलभभरः अरुणारुण कृपाणबाण गुणप्राणगण हठाकृष्टोत्कृष्ट सलील जयलक्ष्मीप्रथम समालिंगनावलोकन--

(९) वलक्ष्य सखेद सुरसुन्दरी विधूतकरसबलद्वलयकुसुमप्रकर प्रकीर्णा वंतससंवर्द्धितकीर्तिबीजः पृथुरिवदोर्दण्ड साधित धनुर्म्मण्डलबलावष्टम्भबश--

(१०) वशीकृत गोपालनानिश्चलीकृतधराधरेन्द्रः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज परमेश्वरश्रीमल्ललितशूरदेवकुशली अस्मिन्नेव श्रीमत्कार्तिकेयपुरविषये समुपगतान्--

(११) सर्वानवनियोगस्थान् राजराजतकराजपुत्रासृष्टामात्य सामंतमहासा-मंतठक्कुरमहामनुष्य महाकर्तृकृतिक महाप्रतीहारमहादण्डनायक महाराजमातारशर--

(१२) भंगकुमारामात्यापरिक दुस्साध्यासाधनिक दशापराधिक चौरोद्धरणिक शोल्किकशोल्मिक तदायुक्तक विनियुक्तक पट्टाकापचारिकाशेषभंगाधिकृत हरत्यश्वोष्ट्र--

(१३) बलव्यापृतकभूतप्रेषणिक दण्डिकदण्डगाशिक गमागमिशार्डिगकाभित्वर माणकराजस्थानीय विषयपतिभोगपतिनरपत्यश्वपति + राडरक्षप्रतिशूरि--

(१४) कस्थानाधिकृतवर्त्मपालकौट्टपालपट्टपालक्षेत्रपालश्रप्रान्तपालकिशोरव-रवागोमहिष्याधिकृतभट्टमहत्तमाभीरवणिक्श्रेष्ठिपुरोगास्तष्टादशप्रकत्य--

(१५) धिष्ठानीयान् खषकिरातद्रविड़कलिंगशौरहूणोड्ड्र मेदान्ध्रचाण्डाल-पर्यन्तानसर्वसम्बसान्समस्तजनपदानभटाचटसेवकादीनन्यांश्च कीर्तितानस्म--

(१६) त्पादपद्मोपजीविनः प्रतिवासिनश्य ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्ह मत्तयति बोधयति समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु तेस्माद्विदितमुपरिनिर्दिष्टविषये गोरुन्नसायां प्रतिबद्धखषियाक--

(१७) परिभुज्यमानपल्लिका तथा पणिभूतिकायां प्रतिबद्धगुगुलपरिभुज्य मानपल्लिकाद्वयं एते मयामातापित्रोत्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये पवनविघिट्टिता--

(१८) श्वत्थपत्रवच्चलतरंगजीवलोकमवलोक्य जलवुद्बु दाकारमसारं वायुर्दृष्ट्वा गजकलभकर्णाग्रचपलाताज्चालक्ष्यत्वापरलोकनिः श्रेयसार्थसंसारार्णवोत्तणार्थंज्च--

(१९) पुण्येहनि उत्तरायणसंक्रांतौ गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपोपलेपननैवेद्यबलिचरु-नृत्यगेयवाद्यसत्वादिप्रवर्त्ताय खण्डस्फुटितसंस्करणाय अभिनवकर्मकरणा--

(२०) व च भृत्यपदमूलभरणाय च गोरुन्नसायां महादेवी श्रीसामदेव्या स्वयंकारायितभगवते श्रीनारायणभट्टारकाय शासनदानेन प्रतिपादिताः प्रकृतिपरिहारयुक्तः --

(२१) प्रचाटा भटा प्रवेशः अकिंचित्प्रग्राह्याः अनाच्छेद्यआचन्द्रार्क्क-क्षितिस्थितिसमकालिकः विषयादुद्धृतपिण्डास्थसीमागोचरपर्यन्तस्य वृक्षाण्योहृदप्रस्रवणोपे--

(२२) तदेव ब्राह्मणभुक्तभुज्यमानवर्जिताः यत्स सुख पारंपर्येण परिभुन्जतश्चास्योपरि निर्दिष्टरन्येतरैर्व्वा धरणविधारणपरिपन्थिजनादिकोपद्रवोमनागपि न कर्त्त--

(२३) व्यो नान्यथा.....महान्द्रोहः स्यादिति प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य-सम्बत्सरएकविशंतिमे सम्बत् २१ माघ बदि ३.....महादानाक्षयपटलाधिकृतश्रीपीजकः --

(२४) लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाक्षपटलाधिकृतश्रीमदायटाववनाटडोत्कीर्णा श्रीगंगभद्रेण--

श्लोक

(२५) बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।।१ ।।
सर्व्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।
सामान्याऽयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां कलिकाल पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।।२ ।।
स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् ।
षष्टिंवर्षसहस्राणि श्वविष्ठया जायते कृमिः ।।३ ।।
भूमेर्दाता याति लोके सुराणां हंसैर्युक्तं यानमारुह्य दिव्यम् ।
लौहे कुम्भे तैलपूर्णे सुतप्ते भूमेर्हता पच्यते कालदूतैः ।।४ ।।
षष्टिंवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।।५ ।।
गामेकांच सुवर्णांच भूमेरप्येकमंगलम् ।
हृत्वा नरकमायाति यावदाहूति संप्लवम् ।।६ ।।
यानीह दत्ता निपुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि ।
निर्म्माल्यवन्ति प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ।।७ ।।
वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं समुदाहरभ्दिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयम् ।
क्षम्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचंचलायाः दानं फलं परयशः परिपालनंच ।।८ ।।
इति कमलदलबिन्दुलोलमिदमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितंच ।
सकलमिदमुदाहृतंच बुद्ध् वा न हि परुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ।।९ ।।
श्रीमिम्बरस्तत्पादानुध्यातः ।
श्रीमदिष्टगणदेवः तत्पादानुध्यातः ।
श्रीमल्ललितशूरदेवः क्षितीशः ।

(English Translation)

Om. Hail ! From the prosperous (*city of*) Karttikeyapura.

By the grace of the holy Dhurjati (Siva) who has destroyed the might of the dense gloom that robs of all discrimination, by assailing it with the abundant wide-spread pure rays—the filaments of the lotuses—his feet, which are red with intoxication from imbibing the bright beams of those lights that bring about a uniform white colour—the billions of handsome points of the beautiful crowns and coronets of the innumerable heads of all the lords of immortals, daityas and men, bowed down under the weight of the burden of devotion ; (*and*) whose matted hair is washed by the celestial stream ; (*There was*) the glorious Nimbara, who had his body adorned with the splendour that shone forth, when, by the strength acquired by his arms, he overcame his adversaries, (*as the sun overcomes*) the darkness of night, with clemency, courtesy, truthfulness, virtuous disposition, purity, heroism, munificence, depth of character, rectitude, noble conduct, wonderful achievements, and a host of other excellencies ; who was an incarnation of the seed of a long lineage of virtuous men ; who was possessed of fame as pleasing as that of the rulers of the earth at the advent of the golden age ; (*and*) whose person was endowed with fortune (*derived*) from (*the worship of*) the lotus-feet of the holy Nandi. His son, who meditated on is feet, born from the queen the glorious *Mahadevi Nasudevi*, (*was*) the devout worshipper of Maheshvara (Siva), devoted to Brahma, the Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parameshvar, the glorious Ishtaganadeva, who, because he extracted excellent rows of pearls from the frontal globes of furious elephants, split open with the edge of his sharp sword, eclipsed the array of the stars by the moonlight—the elevation of his banner of fame. His son, who meditates on his feet, born from the queen the glorious *Mahadeivi Vegadevi*, (*ii*) the devout worshipper of Maheshvar (siva), devoted to Brahma, the *Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parameshvara*, the glorious Lalitasuradeo, who, in lifting up the earth when it had sunk into the distressing mire of the sin of the Kali age, acted the part of the boar most fit for the burden ; who is a fire of prowess to the circle of his adversaries who vanish before the force of his natural genius and his omnipresent power ; who, when preparations for war are made of more than ordinary might, by the terrific frown of his brows again

and again frightens the multitude of his enemies, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane; the seeds of whose fame were made to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the shape of the wreaths of flowers of the bracelets which dropped from the trembling wrists of the damsels of heaven, distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embrace the excellent wanton Fortune of victory, when she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior power of his mute, yet loudly ringing, sword and showers of arrows; (*and*) who has subjugated the earth by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, and by his rule of it has kept (*other*) kings of the earth at peace, resembling thus Prithu who, in order to tend the cow whom he had brought into subjection by means of his bent bow, firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places. He, being in good health, makes known and issues the following commands to all the functionaries assembled in this prosperous district (*vishaya*) of Karttikeyapura, to the *Rajas, Rajanakas, Rajaputras, Rajamatyas, Samanias, Mahasamantas, Thakkuras, Mahamanushyas, Mahakartakritikas, Mahapratiharas, Mahadadanayakas, Maharajapramataras, Sarabhangas, Kumaramatyas, Uparikas, Duhsdhyasadhanikas, Dasaparadhikas, Chauroddharanikas, Saulkikas, Gaulmikas, Taduyuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Pattakapacharikas, Asedhabhangudhikritas*, to those engaged with the elephant, horse, and camel troops, to the *Dutas, Preshanikas, Dandikas, Dandapasikas, Gamagamins, Khadgikas, Abhitvaramanakas, Rajasthaniyas, Vishayapatis, Bhogapatis, Tarapatis, Ashvapatis, Khandarakshas, Pratisurikas, Sthanadhikritas, Vartmapalas, Kottapalas, Ghattapalas, Kshetrapalas, Prantapalas*, to the superintendents of colts, mares, cows, and buffalo-cows, to the *Bhattas, Mahattamas*, cowherds, merchants, foremen of guilds, and to the remaining *Sashtadasaprakrityadhisthdniyas* down to the Khasas, Kirtas, Dravidas, Kalingas, Gaudas, Hunas, Udras, Medas, Andhras, and Chandalas, to all habitations, to the entire people, to the regular and irregular soldiers, servants and others, and to others enumerated (*and*) not enumerated who live in dependance on his lotus-feet, and to the neighbouring people,—paying due respect to all of them, especially to Brahmanas : Be it know to you ! Observing the living world, like a billow, to be as unsteady as the leaves of the holy fig-tree shaken by the breeze, and seeing that life, like a bubble of water, is void of substance, and knowing fortune to be as

vacillating as the tip of an elephant cub's ear,—in order to attain beatitude in the next world and to cross the sea of this life, I, to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, on the auspicious day when the sun enters upon his northern course, have assigned by the grant of an edict, in the above-stated district, the village situated in Gorunnasari which is in the possession of Khashiyaka, and also the two villages situated in Palibhutika which are in the possession of Guggula, to the holy Lord Narayana who by the personal order of the glorious *Mahadevi* Samadevi has been set up at Gorunnasari, for providing perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, ointments, offerings of eatables, sacrifices, oblations of rice, & c., dancing, singing, music, charities &c., for the repair to what may be damazed or broken, as well as for the execution of new work, and for the maintenance of servants and attendants ; (*the said villages*) to be exempt from (*the molestation of*) officials, not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers, not in any way to be seized, not to be resumed, (*to belong to the donee*) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, as pieces taken out of the district (*to which they belong*), as far as their proper boundaries and pasture land, together with and including their trees, gardens, springs of water and cascades, (*but*) without whatever has been or is in the possession of gods and Brahmanas. Wherefore (*the donee*), enjoying (*this grant*) in comfort in regular successions, shall not in the slightest degree be troubled by the above-mentioned people or by others with seizure, restraint, robbery, or in any other way. Whoever may act contrary to this, will, in violating my order, commit a great offence.

In the twenty-first year of the increasing reign of victory, the year 21, the third year of the dark half of Magha. The *Dutaka* in this matter is the Mahadakshapataladhikrita, the illustrious Yijaka. This is written by the Mahasandhivigrahrahakshapatadhikrita the illustrious Aryatavat. The engraving (?) is executed by the illustrious Gangabhadra.

Whosoever be the donor of this land, he would get the reward then and there. Offering again and again his salute to all the future kings Ram Chandra begs that you all should follow at due time all the virtuous acts that I have done normally. One who grabs the land donated by him or by others for his own use he has to spend his life for 60 thousand years as a worm in the dung of a dog. The donor of

the land goes to heaven riding on a celestial charriot drawn by swans ; but the man who grabs that land is cooked by *kaldutas* in an iron-pot full of boiling oil. The donor of the land resides in the heaven for 60 thousand years, but one who grabs it or gives his consent to it has to reside in hell for the same number of years. As a result of grabbing one cow or gold-piece and land equal to finger-breadth has to reside in hell till the final annihilation of the world. In former times the donations made by the kings for earning virtue or fame become unacceptable like things offered to Shiva. No gentleman has any right to take it. Other gentlemen who are to be born in my family treating their life insubstantial like a piece of cloud moving in the gust of wind, should second my deed of charity. Treating the wealth as unsteady and fickle like lighting and bubbles of water its gift should be treated its best utility. The fame of others should be maintained ; should not be destroyed. In this way regarding my life as fickle as the drop of water lying on a lotus-petal whatever I have written above thoughtfully it should be accepted by all and our descendants should never allow the fame of their ancestors to perish.

Srimimbar, lover of his feet Sriman Ishtganadeo and the lover of his feet Sriman Lalitsur Deo Maharajadhiraj.

12. **Comparison with Other Inscriptions**

Inscriptions similar to those of the Katyuri kings found in Pandukeshwar have been found in Bhagalpur and Munghr. In these the description of the posts and the number of all the government functionaries whether high or petty have been given who all collected at the time of coronation or *darbar.* These all collected in the fortunate town of Kartikeypur.

Munger Inscription	Pandukeshwar Inscription of Lalitusur Deo	Another Pandukeshwar Inscription of Lalitsur Deo	Inscription of Padmat Deo	Inscription of Subhikshraj Deo	Bhagalpur Inscription	Name of the Officers
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
..	1	1	1	1	..	*Niyogasthan*: those employed in public affairs.
..	2	2	2	2	..	*Raja*: kings.

(*Contd.*)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1	3	3	3	3	1	*Rajanyaka*: princes (*cf.* title Raika in Nepal and Doti).
2	4	4	4	4	2	*Rajaputra*: sons of Rajas (or Rajputs ?).
3	5	5	5	5	3	*Rajamatya*: counsellors of the Raja.
..	6	6	6	6	..	*Samanta*: neighbouring tributary princes.
7	7	7	7	7	6	*Mahadamanta*: commander-in-chief.
4	10	10	8	8	9	*Mahakartakrittika*: chief investigator of all works.
5	12	12	9	9	11	*Mahadandandyaka*: chief officer of punishment.
6	11	11	10	10	8	*Mahapratihara*: chief warder.
..	..	..	11	11	..	*Mahasamantdahipali*: chief of the feudatory princes.
..	13	13	12	..	..	*Mahsraja*: chief Rajas.
10	14	14	13	..	..	*Pramatara*: keeper of the records of measurements, surveyors.
11	15	15	14	..	..	*Sarabhanga*: archers (a local mountain tribe ?).
9	16	16	15	..	12	*Kumdramatya*: counsellor of the heir-apparent.
13	17	17	16	..	13	*Udadhika*: superintendents.
8	18	18	17	..	10	*Duhsadhyasadhanika*: overcomers of difficulties.
14	19	19	18	..	14	*Doshaparadhika*: investigators of crimes.
15	20	20	19	12	15	*Chouraddharanika*: thief-catchers.
18	21	21	20	13	18	*Saulkika*: superintendents of octroi

(*Contd.*)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
19	22	22	21	14	19	*Gaulmika*: soldiers.
24	23	23	22	15	24	*Tadayuktaka*: former officials.
25	24	24	23	16	25	*Viniyuktaka*: officials on detached duty.
..	25	25	24	17	..	*Pattaka*: engravers (?).
..	26	26	25	18	..	*Pacharika*: draught-players (?): or *Pattakopacharika*, wardrobe-keepers.
..	27	27	26	19	..	*Saudhabhangadhikrita*: chief architects.
26	28	28	27	20	26	*Hastyasvosheravala*: keepers of elephants, horses and camels.
..	29	29	28	21	..	*Vyapritaka*: secretaries or ambassadors.
28	30	30	29	22	..	*Hutapreshanika*: chamberlains or messengers.
16	31	31	30	23	16	*Dandika*: mace-bearers.
17	32	32	31	24	17	*Dandapasika*: keepers of the instruments of punishment.
..	..	..	32	25	..	*Vishaya-vyapritaka*: district secretaries.
29	33	33	33	26	29	*Gamagamiha*: messengers.
..	34	34	34	27	..	*Khalgika*: swordsmen.
30	35	35	35	28	30	*Abhitvaramanaka*: swift messengers (*manika*, miner ?).
..	36	36	36	29	..	*Rajasthuniya*: officers of the royal household.
31	37	37	37	30	31	*Vishayapati*: district officers.
..	38	38	38	31	..	*Bhogapati*: provincial governors.
23	..	..	39	32	23	*Khandapati*: chiefs of wards in cities (*muhalladars*).
32	39	39	40	33	30	*Tarapati*: chiefs of the ferries.
..	40	40	41	34	..	*Asvapati*: commanders of cavalry.
..	41	41	42	35	..	*Khandarakshasthanadhipati*: chief of the frontier posts.
..	42	42	43	36	..	*Vartmapalaka*: road guards.

(*Contd.*)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
22	43	43	44	37	22	*Koshapala*: treasurers or *kotiapala* (*kotwals*).
..	44	44	45	38	..	*Ghattapala*: guards of passes (*Ghatwals*).
..	45	45	46	39	20	*Kshetrapala*: guards of fields.
21	46	46	47	40	21	*Prantapala*: guards of boundaries.
..	8	8	48	41	..	*Thakkura*: the (khasiya) khsattriya tribe.
..	9	8	49	42	..	*Mahamanushya*: men of importance (village-headman *cf. bhalamanush*).
27	47	47	50	43	27	*Kisoravalava go mahishyadhikrita*: keepers of colts, cows and buffaloes.
..	48	48	51	44	..	*Bhattamahottama*: most learned men.
..	49	49	52	45	..	*Abhira*: Cowherds (*ahirs*).
..	50	50	53	46	..	*Banik*: merchants (*baniyas*).
..	51	51	54	47	..	*Sreshtipurogan*: chiefs of city, guilds : (*chaudhris*).
..	52	52	55	48	..	*Sashtadasaprakrityadhishtdniyan* : superintendents of the eighteen departments.

So many functionaries, high officers, kings, *maharajas*, soldiers and military officers congregated in Kartikeypur at the time of coronation. They were awarded land posts, copper plates and prizes etc. Such kings as had so many rulers under them must have actually been big sovereigns.

Among these people of all castes and tribes such as Khasa, Dravida, Kalinga, Gauda, Udra, Andhra, Chandal and non-Brahmins were included, so say the inscriptions.

It is said that the inscription found in Munghyr is exactly like the copper-plates of the above mentioned five Katyuri kings. This inscription belongs to king Deopal Deo of the Pal dynasty. The

copper-plate of Bhagalpur belongs to King Narayanpal of Pal dynasty. Deopal, the king of Munghyr, has been called a *saugat* i.e. follower of Buddha. Their progenitor was Gopal. About his son Dharmpal, it is said, that he had gone to Kedarnath. In the copper-plate it has also been said that he conquered the land from the Himalaya to Kanyakumari. Also the scripts of Katyuri and Pal copper-plates are usually similar. They have been written in the curly script of Pali. Also the style of the copper-plate is said to be similar. From the eighth to the tenth century A.D. they were prevalent in the whole of India. Even the name of the writers are generally similar in the copper-plates of the Katyuri and Bengal kings.

(1) In the copper-plate of Lalitsur the writer is Gangbhadra.

(2) In the copper-plate of Daishatadeo the writer is Bhadra.

(3) In the copper-plate of Padmatdeo the writer is Nandabhadra.

(4) In the copper-plate of Subhikshrajdeo the writer is Nandabhadra.

(5) In the copper-plate of Munghyr the writer is Bindabhadra.

(6) In the copper-plate of Bhagalpur the writer is Bhattagaurav.

Similarity between the plates of Kumaun and those of Bhagalpur and Munghyr is really surprising. The writers also are scholars of the Bhadra family. The initial of elucidations (*pravachan*) and verses also are generally similar. In a small mountainous kingdom which does not extend to the regions of the plain, existence of camels, horses and elephants is not possible. Therefore, either the Katyuri kingdom extended far and wide or some one belonging to Bhadra family coming over there might have popularised the contemporary system of *danpatras* prevailing all over India. The dates also in these *danpatras* are related to the day on which the kings ascended the throne. All the copper-plates are in Sanskrit which is quite difficult and full of lengthy compounds.

In the copper-plate of Pandukeshwar it is written that Nimbartdeo got victory over a foreign enemy. He destroyed his enemies is the same way as the rising sun destroys the fog. His son Ishtangdeo killed a number of big and rutting elephants with the edge of his sword. All these battles must have taken place in plains because in hills elephants cannot participate in battles, though in Katyur near Kausani there is a place named Hathichhina where it is

said that the elephants belonging to the Katyuris were kept. In a Pal copper-plate Gopal and in a Katyuri copper-plate king Lalitsurdeo have been compared to Prithu. It is also written that Lalitsurdeo established his kingdom all over India. In Pal inscriptions also it has been written that the kingdom of Deopal extended from mount Mahendra to Himalaya.

The copper-plate of Daishatadeo and Padmatdeo of Kumaun are of Kartikeyapur but the copper-plate of Subhikshrajdeo bears the seal of Subhikshpur. The exact location of this town is not known. (It is possible that Subhikshpur might exist in Baurarau because the land always remains full of crops. Shubhakot of Baurarau might have been the ancient Subhishpur. Writer).

There is some difference between the copper-plates of Bagishwar and of Pandukeshwar though in these also the words of praised and Ichchhatadeo and his mother have been said to be the worshippers of Shiva and Brahma and the great supporters of the *Brahmanas* and the poor. About Padmatdeo it has been said that he was a follower of Shiva and had, with prowess of his arms conquered those regions whose masters brought to him as many elephants and horses and as much wealth that the wealth brought to Indra looked insignificant. He has been compared to Dadhichi and Chandra-gupta. His kingdom is said to extend from one ocean to another. His son Subhikshrajdeo was a follower of Vishnu and absorbed in the thought of the feet of Brahma. He honoured the scholars and the persons versed in the sacred lore. He was endowded with a number of virtues. Except these things it is not exactly known from these copper-plates as to when these kings existed and upto where their kingdom extended.

The names of the pieces of land donated in those copper-plates are to some extent mentioned here, though it is quite difficult at present to have an exact information about them because during two-three thousand years the names of the pieces of land and of donees have undergone complete change.

13. Gift of Land

A detailed description of a copper-plate of Lalitsurdeo has been given above. In the other the land donated has also been given from Kartikeypur.

(1) The land that exists in Thapalia Sari near Indra Vak has been also given to Narayanbhattarak. The grant of land has been made for the service of sages and saints in Tapovan which is said to exist on the bank of Dhauli above Joshimath.

(2) Daishatadeo donated village Yamuna, under the possession of Narayan Varman, to the temple of Vijayeshwar. The rulers of the region of Ishal have been informed about it.

(3) Padmatdeo has ordered the rulers of Tanganpur and Subhikshrajdeo also has ordered the government officers of Tanganpur and of the region of Antarang that a certain piece of land has been donated to Badrikashram.

(4) There are many names in the copper-plate of Subhikshrajdeo whose identification at present is difficult.

  (1) The land in Vidhimalaka which is in the possession of Vachchhetak. 8 *nalis* in Bhetasari.

  (2) *Drona* land in Bariyal.

  (3) Land in Banolik.

  (4) Land from Kandayik to Sarana which belongs to Subhattak.

  (5) Satik Tok.

  (6) Yachchasadda which is in the possession of Gochintagak.

  (7) Tallasat which is in the possession of Bihandak.

  (8) Sira which is in the hands of Venavak.

  (9) Gangarak which is in the possession of Soshi Jivak.

  (10) Pettak, Kathasil, Nyayapattak and Bandiwala which are in the possession of Adityas.

  (11) Ichchawala, Bhihalak, Mahrajiyak and Khorakhottanak which are in the possession of Siladitya.

  (12) The land in Harshpur which was in the hands of Parvabhanu Ungak is now included in the estate of Durgabhatta.

  (13) The fresh land in Bharosik which is in the possession of Sittak, Usok, Vijat, Dujjan, Atang, Vachatak and Barah.

(14) Jatipatok which lies in Ijar.

(15) Godhodh of Samijip and Pairi which is in the possession of the sons of Satrak.

(16) Ghasamengak of Yoshik, Sidara, Balibard and Sīla, Ihang, Rullath, Tiring, Katansil, Gandhodharik, Pug, Karkatathal and Dalimulak which are in the possession of Gharnag.

(17) Darak which is in the hands of Katusthik.

(18) Ranadavak and Loharas which are in the possession of Tungaditya.

(19) The land of Yoshik.

(20) Ratnavali which lies near Sadayik and bounded by Andariganik in the east, Ganga in the north, Sankat in the west, and Tamehak in the south and which is in the hands of Senayik. The right over these pieces of land and the villages has been given to Bhattarakas Srinarayan and Brahmeshwar. They were the priests of the temple of Durgadevi. It is difficult to exactly locate the Sanskrit names at present.

14. **Digvijay of the Katyuris**

Details of the people of different castes and tribes who lived under the jurisdiction of these kings are given in the copper-plates. So we give here the details in brackets :

Names of Kings	*Date of Copper-plates*	*Name of the tribes and castes*
1. Lalitsur Deo	21	Khasas, Dravidas, Kalingas, Gaudas, Udras, Andhras, Chandalas.
2. Lalitsur Deo	22	Khasas, Dravidas, Kalingas, Gaudas, Udras, Andhras, Chandalas, Kiratas, Huns, Medhas.
3. Daishat Deo	5	Khasas, Kalingas, Huns, Gaudas, Medhas, Andhras, Chandalas.

1	*2*	*3*	*4*
4.	Padmat Deo	25	The same except Andhras.
5.	Subhikshraj Deo	4	The same except Andhras.
6.	Deopal Deo	33	Gaudas, Malavas, Khasas, Hunas, Kalingas, Karnatakas, Lasatas, Bhotas, Medhas, Andharakas, Chandalas.

In number 6 inscription of Bengal the mention of these tribes is justified but the list of the names of the southern tribes in the period of Katyuri rule only indicates that either the people of those regions might have come and settled down here or these regions also were for sometime under the Katyuri jurisdiction. These copper-plates inform us about *the digvijay* of the Katyuris.

Atkinson, the learned writer, and archaeologists hold that the writer of the inscription and copper-plates of the period of Katyuri-rule has copied the copper-plates of Bengal. Only changing the names of the pieces of land and those of the *danpatra* they have allowed the matter to remain the same. According to him it is a proved fact that the Pal and Sen kings of Bengal came to Kumaun. King Gopal's pilgrimage to Kedar has been noted earlier. In Bengal after the Pal kings the kings of the Sen dynasty of Magadh came to power. On a stone slab in the temple of Jagishwar the name 'Madhavsen is engraved. It is possible that Madhavsen, a Sen king, might have come to Kumaun. Atkinson also argues that possibly these Pal and Sen kings in course of their *digvijay* conquered the Katyuris of Kumaun also. On this very ground he explains the similarity between the copper-plates of Munghyr and Bhagalpur and those of Katyur. But all this is based on surmise and research but has no historical importance.

Firstly the conquest of Kumaun by the Pals and the Sens has no where been mentioned in history. The descendants of the Katyuri kings are even now called Pal. It is possible that these Pals might have been related to those Pals or these Pals might have belonged to Pal dynasty or the Katyuris and the Pals of Kumaun might have after the *digvijay* divided this region into their kingdoms

or the ambassadors of these kings residing in the court of the Katyuri kings might have from them got copies of the copper-plates or the Katyuri kings might have procured the copies or the inscriptions from the kings of Magadh while they were on the pilgrimage to Badrinath, Kedarnath and Jagnath or the Sens and Pals might have learnt it from the Katyuris because it is a disputable fact that Katyuri kings also by that time had become greatly illustrious and highly powerful. Their kingdom extended to far off places. But all these things are based on surmise which can be made to any desired extent. So we are not ready to accept at once this plea that the Katyuris have copied the inscriptions of the Sens and the Pals. All the copper-plates of the Katyuri kings have been issued from Kartikeyapur, not a single one has been found from Joshimath. So, even this fact also can not be accepted at once that the Katyuri kings came here from Garhwal.

15. Decline of the Katyuris

The information about only 10-12 Katyuri *chakravarti* kings is got from their copper-plates and inscriptions. There is no written history about them but from their inscriptions whatever has been known about their powerful rule it is not insufficient to show that in those days the Katyuri rule extended far and wide. It was not less than extending than the kingdoms of Munghyr and Bhagalpur, rather they (Katyuri) had more number of government functionaries than the former. The Katyuri kings were also very famous sovereigns. There were many feudatory kings under them. They had their army commanders horse's commanders and elephants. The names of the commanders of the state have been given elsewhere. They were magnificent and virtuous. First they were Buddhists and later on turned Shaivas and Vaishnavas. They donated much land to educated *brahmins*, learned men, brave warriors and deserving employees. At the time of their coronations many people assembled and they were celebrated with great royal pomp and show. They constructed water reserviors, towns, roads, temples and inns, etc. throughout their extensive empire. In their days there was also a *Vidyapitha* (seat of learning) where scholars imparted knowledge of students. They constructed temples and *naulas* in a good number. After the Daityas, Danavas, Kauravas and Pandavas their's only was the powerful rule in Kumaun. When their

downfall began, it can not be said. It is possible from the 9th or the 10th century their extensive empire divided into the principalities of feudatory kings.

Owing to the curse of God Nrisingh or to oppressions of the later decendents of the Katyuris, whatever you might say, it is said that from king Dham Deo and Vir Deo the downfall of this powerful dynasty began.

It is said that when this last Katyuri king gave wheat from his store (bhandar) for grinding, he gave as much as was contained in an obverted *nali* (a measure of two seers), and when this ground wheat was brought the flour was spread after mounting on a raised high stone on seven bamboo (maston) mats one over the other. The flour which permeated through the seventh mat was accepted by filling it in the straight (normal) *nali.* Every village had to give this *begar* in turn. The stone from which the flour was scattered is still found in Tailihat village of Katyur. He used to take out flour sufficient for his purpose and return back the balance. The revenue was extracted not in cash but in the form of property. There was no fixed rule for taxation, the rule was made according to his sweet will. Whatever he wanted he collected from the houses of the subjects. Beautiful boys and girls of the subjects were forcibly brought away from their houses to convert them into slaves. Sweet and healthful water of Hathichhina (Kausani), situated at a distance of about six miles from Rajmahal, was regardarly brought for the kings to drink. Till now that naula is named the *naula* of Dhamadeva Brahmadeva. On both its sides there day and night stood slaves in a line to pass on water pots and in this way in no time transmitted water to the palace. On account of this the following hearsay is prevalent everywhere.

"बाँजा घट की भाग उघौनी।
बाझी गैको दूध दीनी!।
उल्टी नाली भर दीनी।
कणक बतै लीनी।।"

King Vir Deo teased his subjects by his tyranny to the extent that he forcibly married his own maternal aunt. It is said that the Kumauni folk song 'Mami tile dharo bola' became popular from that very day—The name of the maternal aunt was Tila alias

Tilottama Devi. King Vir Deo filled the pitcher of his sins by indulging in debauchery with his maternal aunt. This king used to go to the village on a *dandi*. The shoulders of the *dandi*-bearers were pierced with an iron ring which were tied and fixed to wooden rods of the *dandi so* that the *dandi*-bearers could not throw the king in a pit (*bhyol*) taking him to a atrocious. At last two brave men were found—they thought that they themselves are ruined, now why this tyrant king may be excused. So one day they hatched a conspiracy and decided to throw down the king into the ditch. These two men on whose shoulders the rods had been tied jumped down from a high mountain along with the *dandi* in which the king was sitting and they all were broken into pieces.

After the death of this tyrant there ensued a civil war among his sons. Fierce fight took place among them. Whole of the kingdom was ruined. The people of this very family divided the whole kingdom among themselves. At the places where they were formerly placed as provincial governors or *faujdars* there they declared themselves as independent kings. In the same way on the disintegration of the extensive Mughal empire provincial governors, nizams, nawabs and wazirs distributed the empire among themselves and ruled as independent kings. Outside Kumaun the feudatory kings of Garhwal also who were till then under the jurisdiction of Kartikeypur stopped paying revenue and also became independent kings. The same condition prevailed in Kumaun when the Chand kings came there. Petty feudatory kings ruled here and there and attacking one another showed their power. King Brahmdeo of this very family (after whose name Brahmdeo Mandi was founded) established his kingdom in Kali Kumaun. His first fort lay in Sui and the Rawat king of Dumkot was under him. The second branch started ruling at *Doti*. The third established itself at Askot. Fourth settled down at Baramandal. The fifth maintained its sovereignty over Katyur and Danpur. The sixth branch ruled here and there in Pali whose main places then were Dwarahat and Lakhanpur.

In this way this extensive empire got divided into small parts. Throughout Kumaun and Tarai Bhavar also are found the monuments of the Katyuris. Mr. Batten, the former commissioner of this place, writes that many of these terraces and *naulas* are

beautifully structured. From the temples and the idols of their time it is evident that they were the stannch followers of Hindu gods and goddesses. Their construction and length and breadth are just like those of *Vrihatstambh*, buildings and *panghats* found in the south. These have been mostly found near Narmada near Bundelkhand. From these facts it is quite evident that the Katyuri kings had come from outside. They were not the original residents of this place. For being the rulers of the sacred regions of Himalaya these kings were regarded superior to the kings of Rohilkhand. Even after the establishment of Muslim rule the kings of Kumaun were in possession of Tarai. They were not under any other king. There is no doubt in it that the Katyuris ruled in Tarai also. Since long the hill people along with their family and cattle have been living in Tarai-Bhavar during winters. The people of Nepal had launched a number of movements in respect of not allowing the Tarai-Bhavar to go out of their jurisdiction. Not only the people of Nepal but also the people of Kumaun fought tumultous battles for Tarai. It will be described in the Chapter of on Tarai-Bhavar.

It cannot be said what was the population of Tarai-Bhavar and Kurmachal during the time of the Katyuri kings. What type of facilities of communication existed, what was the condition of roads and how the administration was carried on; these facts are not fully known to us. But the people of Kali Kumaun say that Katyuri king Dhamdeo who had married his daughter to King Somchand founded the town of Dhampur at Bijnor. His kingdom on getting reduced remained confined to Talla and Malla Katyur in the time of King Rudra Chand. Later on this very king Rudra Chand snatched Katyur also.

16. Genealogy of the Katyuris

The genealogies of these Katyuri kings correctly arranged year-wise are not available. On the basis of the documents procured from the places where their descendants are still living only a little can be known about the geneology of this family and more facts are not known. The descendants of the Katyuris even now live in Askot, Doti and Pali Pachhaun. So the details of their geneology are given below :

(a) *The genealogy of Rajbar Askot*

1. Shalivahan Deo
2. Sanjay Deo
3. Kumar Deo
4. Haritray Deo
5. Brahm Deo
6. Shankh Deo
7. Bajra Deo
8. Vrinanjay Deo
9. Vikramjit Deo
10. Dharmpal Deo
11. Sarangdhar Deo
12. Nilpal Deo
13. Bhojraj Deo
14. Vinayapal Deo
15. Bhujendra or Bhujanara Deo
16. Samarsi Deo
17. Ashal Deo
18. Ashok Deo
19. Sarang Deo
20. Nagjavasi Deo
21. Kamajay Deo
22. Shalinakul Deo
23. Ganapati Prithvidhar Deo
24. Jaisingh Deo
25. Shankhachar or Shankheshvar Deo
26. Someshvar or Shaneshvar Deo
27. Prasiddh Deo (Krashidviyap Deo)
28. Viddhiraj Deo
29. Prithvishvar Deo
30. Balak or Balak Deo
31. Asanti Deo
32. Basanti Deo
33. Katarmall Deo
34. Saty Deo or San Deo
35. Sindhu Deo
36. Kin Deo or Kina Deo
37. Ranakin Deo or Rankina Deo
38. Nilarai Deo
39. Vajrabahu Deo
40. Karyasiddhi Deo
41. Gaurang Deo
42. Sandilya Deo
43. Harinaraj Deo
44. Tilongraj Deo
45. Pritam Deo
46. Udaksila Deo
47. Dham Deo
48. Brahm Deo or Bir Deo (last Katyuri king)
49. Trilok Pal
50. Abhay Pal (He came to Askot in 1279)

The descendants of Trilok Pal, the second son of Niranjan Pal, came to be called Mall. From amongst their descendants out of the two sons of Nag Mall, the descendants of the elder son Shamasher Mall were called Mall and those of the younger son Arjunsahi, Sahi.

51. Nirbhay Pal
52. Bharati Pal
53. Bhairav Pal
54. Bhupal

55. to 80 (not known)

81. Ratan Pal
82. Shankh Pal
83. Shyam Pal
84. Shah Pal or Sain Pal
85. Surjan Pal
86. Bhuj Pal
87. Bharat Pal
88. Surtan Pal
89. Achchh Pal
90. Trilok Pal (2)
91. Sur Pal
92. Jagat Pal
93. Praja Pal
94. Rai Pal (he was killed in 1588 A.D. by Gopi Ojha)
95. Mahendra Pal
96. Jayant Pal
97. Birbal Pal
98. Amarsingh Pal
99. Abhay Pal (2) Atkinson wrote Brahm Pal
100. Uchchahar Pal or Uchchhav Pal
101. Vijay Pal (his brother Rudra)
102. Mahendra Pal
103. Bahadur Pal (Brother Jejsingh Prabhariti)
104. Pushkar Pal (Brother prince Govind Singh)
105. Gajendra Pal
106. Bhupendra Pal
107. Vikram Bahadur Pal (Present)

(b) In the hand-written book of Pt. Rurdradatt Pant these more names appear:

1. Dham Deo
2. Bram Deo
3. Asan Deo
4. Abhay Deo
5. Nirbhay Pal
6. Bharti Pal
7. Bhairav Pal
8. Raj Pal
9. Shyam Pal
10. Sain Pal
11. Surya Pal
12. Bhoj Pal
13. Bhadra Pal
14. Shivaratan Pal
15. Achch Pal
16. Trilokya Pal
17. Sundar Pal
18. Jagati Pal
19. Piroj Pal
20. Rai Pal

21. Mahendra Pal
22. Jayant Pal
23. Birbal Pal
24. Amarsingh Pal
25. Abhay Pal
26. Uchchav Pal
27. Vijay Pal
28. Mahendra Pal
29. Himmat Pal
30. Daljit Pal
31. Bahadur Pal

It is possible that in these names some might be of those Rajwars whose names have been left out.

Since the time the suffix 'Deo' was replaced by 'Pal' they came to be counted as Rajwar *i.e.*, feudatory kings under sovereign rulers. In the days of Katyuri empire smaller families of the royal dynasty adopted the title of Rajwar. A *danpatra* of 1202 A.D. of Indradeo Rajvar is even now found in Katyur Patti. In 1279 A.D. Abhaypaldeo leaving Katyur went to Askot. It is possible that in this very year a national revolution might have occurred in Katyur. He changed his title from 'Deo' to 'Pal' because Deo was the title of annointed Katyuri sovereigns. Now the title of Rajwar is used only by the persons of the family of Askot, though for indicating their honourable position some families even in Pali Pachhaun are called Rajwars but the English gave their sanction only to the Rajwars of Askot. In Askot the eldest son is called 'Lala' and others 'Gusain'.

The people of Askot regard them among the descendants of Uttanpad who existed 221 generations earlier. He was the progenitor of the Solar family. In this very dynasty were born Brahm, Marichi, Kashyap, Harishchandra, Aj, Dilip, Raghu, Dasharath and Ramchandra. It is said that in the genealogy it is written against the name of Shalivahan that he having come from Ayodhya became a king in Katyur. So the theory of the English scholar Atkinson that the Katyuris came to Katyur from Joshimath does not appear tenable in the light of the statements in respect of the ruling dynasty of Askot. We have already written that the administration of Garhwal was carried on from Kartikeyapur alias Katyur. All the inscriptions and copper-plates of Garhwal bear the seal of Katyur. So the records of Askot appear to be more justified. The Katyuri kings did not belong to Kataur dynasty but to the Solar dynasty. They having come from Ayodhya had settled down at Katyur. In the copper-plate of Lalitsurdeo the word '*Kushali*' appears at one place. The scholar of Anupshahar and Professor of Sanskrit Kaviratna Akhilanand explained it to me as also meaning the 'family of Kush' who was the son of Ram and belonged to Solar dynasty.

From the above statements it is proved that at one time Kumaun formed a part of the kingdom of the kings of Solar dynasty. Later on probably from the time of Shalivahandeo this region got separated from Ayodhya. The region from Nepal to Kabul lay under their jurisdiction. Upto the time to Dhamdeo Dhampur and Bijnor all were included in this very kingdom. After him the following were the *chakravarti* sovereigns :

1. Emperor Vasu Deo
2. Emperor Kanak Deo (killed in Kabul ?)
3. Emperor Vasantan Deo
4. Emperor Kharpar Deo
5. Emperor Kalyanraj Deo
6. Emperor Tribhuvanraj Deo
7. Emperor Nirmat Deo or Naunavarat Deo
8. Emperor Ishataram Deo or Ishtobhan Deo
9. Emperor Lalitsur Deo
10. Emperor Bhudeo Deo
11. Salaunaditya Deo
12. Emperor Ichchat Deo
13. Emperor Daisat Deo
14. Emperor Padmat Deo
15. Emperor Subikshraj Deo
16. Emperor Devpal Deo

All of these were adorned with the title 'Giriraj Chakrachudamani'. After them the vast Katyuri empire got disintegrated. It remained confined within the kingdom of Kumaun at least. Later on it was divided into states of *pargana* and *patti*. Wherever, the family shifted it included in its geneology the names from the point they knew them. So there is no uniformity among the geneological tables and many names are missing.

(c) *Genealogy of Doti*

Genealogy of the branch of the Katyuri family that shifted to Doti is as follows :

1. Shalivahan Deo
2. Shaktivahan Deo
3. Harivarma Deo
4. Sribrahm Deo
5. Srivijra Deo
6. Vikramaditya Deo
7. Dharmpal Deo
8. Nilpal Deo
9. Yunjaraj Deo
10. Bhoj Deo
11. Samarsingh Deo
12. Ashal Deo
13. Sarang Deo
14. Nakul Deo
15. Jaisingh Deo
16. Anijal Deo
17. Vidyaraj Deo
18. Prithvishvar Deo
19. Chunpal Deo
20. Asanti Deo
21. Basanti Deo
22. Katarmall Deo
23. Singhmall Deo
24. Phanimall Deo
25. Niphimall Deo
26. Nilayrai Deo
27. Vrajbahu Deo
28. Gaurang Deo
29. Siyamall Deo
30. Ilraj Deo
31. Nilraj Deo
32. Phatakshilraj Deo
33. Prithviraj Deo
34. Dham Deo
35. Brahm Deo
36. Trilokpal Deo
37. Niranjan Deo
38. Nagmall Deo
39. Arjun Shahi
40. Bhupati Shahi
41. Hari Shahi
42. Ram Shahi
43. Pravar Shahi
44. Rudra Shahi
45. Vikram Shahi
46. Mandhata Shahi
47. Raghunath Shahi
48. Hari Shahi
49. Krishn Shahi
50. Dip Shahi
51. Vishnu Shahi
52. Pradip Shahi
53. Hansdhvaj Shahi

The Sahi family started from King Arjunsahi who was contemporary of King Ratanchand.

(d) *Genealogy of the Katyuri kings of Pali-Pachhaun*

One branch of the Katyuri family, as we have already noted above, had gone to Pali Pachhaun. Its geneology is given here :

1. Asanti Deo		
2. Basanti Deo		
3. Gaurang Deo		
4. Shyamal Deo		
5. Phenabrai		
6. Keshavrai		
7. Ajabrai		
8. Gajabrai		
9. Sujan Deo		9. Pitam Deo
10. Sarang Deo		10. Dham Deo
		He ruled in South Garhwal. He generally resided towards Patalidum by making fort. His descendants came to Kumaun during Chand rulers.
11. Viram Deo	Bag Deo	
12. Sur Deo		
13. Bhav Deo	(Now exists)	
Pithu Gusain	Lad Deo	Sarang Gusain
14. Palah Deo		Japu Gusai
15. Kilan Deo		
Rajvars of Jaspur in Chaukat belonged to this dynasty.	Due to their settlement in Sainmanur they came to be known as Manural. Chachneti and Sain are now in Manur.	Manurals of Udaipur, village Bhatal and Hat still exist.
Sarang Gusain		Bhavan Singh
Dharm Singh		
Manurals of village Kahed still exist.		Manurals of Tamdhaun still exist.

Since the time they came to be called Gosain, the post of *Sayanchari* was given to them. There the Rajwars of Askot became 'Pal' from 'Deo' and here they became 'Gosain' from 'Deo'. At a place called Tamadaun in Chaukot Paragana in a temple of ***Kuldevi*** (the *Ishtadevi* of these kings) is engraved the name of Sarangdeo and also *Samvat* 1342. It cannot be said whether this Sarangdeo was an older Katyuri king or the father of princes Dharmsingh and Bhawansingh.

Had the rule of the Katyuri family continued unbroken, the names of its kings could have been fully ascertained, but as their empire got divided into petty states and each family prepared its geneology from its own progenitor, so the accurate chains of names are not found. None belonging to the original branch of the main Katyuri kings survives at present. It is said that a certain king amongst those Katyuri kings had said that he would not allow his descendants to survive in *Kaliyug*. So it happened. Though its branches, sub-branches and subsidiary branches exist the original branch has got scattered. It is surprising that in all the four geneologies that we have given above the names of those eight powerful *chakravarti* kings whose kingdom extended far and wide and from whose copper-plates we come to know about their powers, royal glory, learning, devotion to duty are mentioned no where. But there is no doubt in it that the Palas, Sahis and Manurals and Rajwars of Askot, Doti and Pali Pachhaun all belong to the Katyuri family. It is more than two hundred years that the Chand kings regarded them as belonging to the old Katyuri family. It is said that the Chands neither drove them out nor destroyed them. The reason behind this is said to be their intention to marry the girls from these families. The Chands married their daughters but did not give their daughters to them. The Chands married their daughters in places like Aligarh, Nepal, Anupshahar, Bareilly, Kathera and Awadh etc. The descendants of the kings married the daughters of the Vaishya and Thakur kings of Doti and Jumala etc. The Rajwars of Askot establish their matrimonial relations with the people of Nepal also but according to Atkinson the Manurals of Pali have started establishing relations with the wealthy Khasa Rajputs also. Besides the Manurals of Pali, the Rajputs of the group of Kalakoti of Dug also regard themselves as belonging to the Katyuri family.

Besides these petty kings of Katyuri family, during the time between the fall of the Katyuris and the arrival of the Chands, the region of Kumaun lay divided into petty kingdoms. Faldakot and Dhaniyakot lay under the authority of a Khati Rajput who regarded him as belonging to Solar dynasty. Chaugarkha was ruled by a Padyar king whose capital was Padyarkot. In the *paragana* of Gangoli ruled a Mankoti king. He had come from Piuthan in Nepal and regarded himself as a Rajput of Lunar dynasty. After ruling for seven to eight generations they being defeated by the Chands returned to the place where their descendants still exist. Kota, Chhakhata and Kutauli came under the jurisdiction of the Khas kings. Sor, Sira, Darma, Askot, and Johar all were annexed to The Doti Empire.

When the sun of the fortune of the kings of Solar dynasty in Kumaun set and at places small feudatony kings began to rule, the people said that the sun of Kumaun had set and there was night all over Kumaun. But on the arrival of the Chands, people started saying that there was night in Kumaun as the sun had set but one thing is good that now moonlight has appeared *i.e.* kings of Lunar dynasty have come. There is again light in the earth sunk in darkness.

17. **Description given by Ramdatt Tripathi**

When I had completed writing the above description a small book written by Ramdatt Tripathi of Dwarahat came to my hand. I am going to quote here in short the facts from it in my own language :

(1) 130 years before the Vikram *Samvat* and from Yudhishthir *Smavat* 2914 (previous to Vikram Samvat Dharmraj *Samvat* was prevalent in India for 3044 years) people of Jattha and Jat tribe ruled in Kurmachal. Their descendants are now called Bohara or Bora and also Bisht.

(2) In between the ancient *Samvat* 2914-2950 Danu Kumar Sen, a Khasatriya of Bharadwaj *Gotra* ruled here. His capital lay in Kotalgarh and Tankanapur. At places like Khairagarh, Pithoragarh and Nanakmata etc. his *chhavanis*, kotwalis and *tahsils* lay.

(3) In the *pargana* of Danpur this very Kumar Sen is worshipped as god Danu. In it people first offer milk of a

newly foaled cow or buffalo to him and then bring it into their use.

(4) The income of this king was Rs.100000/- Grain was sold 2½ maunds a rupee.

(5) The king built his palace at the spot on the bank of Gomati where at present stands the government hospital. He was fond of hunting. On this very account he died at the age of 81 in *Samvat* 2950 (Dharmraj) at Danpur.

(6) His successor was Ranjit Singh *alias* Randhir Singh. He established a town and built his palace in Ranchulakot above Vaidyanath.

(7) Before Samvat 3000 King Asantideo, the descendant of King Vasudeo, a Kshatriya of Solar dynasty, at the head of an army of 500 foot soldiers and 10 horsemen attacked Ranachulakot. According to the curse of god Narsingh he came to Katyur from Joshimath.

(8) Here king Randhir Singh had a dream that his enemy was advancing from the west. On his arrival King Randhir Singh said that he did not want to enter into *Rakshasyuddh*, *kukkuryuddh* or *kapatayuddh* but *dharmyuddh* named *mallyuddh* so that the subjects might not be troubled and decision regarding the kingdom be on the basis of their defeat or victory.

(9) Soap-nuts were spread on the ground of Ranchulakot. Dual between both the kings took place. King Randhir Singh was defeated and king Asantideo got victorious. He granted longlife pension to King Randhir. He died at the age of 57.

(10) When King Asantideo ascended the throne, he found only twenty lac rupees in his treasury. After virtuous rule of 75 years he died a peaceful death. The temple of Briddha Bhuvaneshvar near Gangolihat, it is said, was built by Subhadradevi, the queen of Asantideo.

(11) Vasanatideo, the son of Asantideo ascended the throne, during his land-revenue from the widowed mother was

not realised till her son attained the age of 20 years. This king was also named as Sukhvant. He is the same sukhvant who attacked Indraprastha (Delhi) and defeated King Rajpal. (Its details have also been given in *Timirnashak* and in the book written by Cunningham).

(12) After him during the period of 305 years there ruled four kings (1) Shankarsen (2) Karpurang (3) Shyamkrishnadeo and (4) Mahananddeo. They were ordinary kings. After them came Prithvipaldeo who was a powerful king.

(13) After Prithvipal his son Kartikeya alias, Kirtivarmadeo was still more illustrious. In his kingdom neither any battle was fought nor any one was sent to jail so it is said that the *daroga* and the army commander had resigned on the ground that when they had no work why should they draw pay without any work. Main roads were in good condition, there were bridges here and there and there were 50 government schools.

(14) The following were the feudatory kings of this emperor—(1) King Bam in Sor, (2) King Mankoti in Gangoli, (3) King Raika in Sira, (4) a Thakur of Luval caste in Johar, (5) a king of Virat family in Pali whose capital lay in *patti* Givad in Viratpuri in the east on the left front of Ramganga, in front of Shrinatheshvar.

(15) The name of the queen of this king was Nandadevi, she was chaste (*sati*) like Sita and Savitri. Nandakot and Nandadevi are said to be her pleasure-resorts.

(16) This king ruled for 65 years from Vikram Samvat 295 to 360. In his time there existed a town named Kartikeyapur or Kirtipur, 6 *kos* in length and extending from the confluence of Garud-Ganga and Gomati to Bagishvar. Its ancient name is said to be also Karvirpur.

(17) After King Kartikeya, during the period of 190 years ruled kings named Bhayhardeo, Chavaryyadeo Kalpalpajdeo, Puraldeo and Lalitshurdeo whose names are engraved in the temple of Bagishvar. Bagishvar was installed in their days. In Samvat 376 the temples of Vibhandeshvar and Yagishvar Mahadeo were built.

(18) King Sujandeo, the son of king Lalitshurdeo, founded the town named Gangolihat in about Vikram Samvat 400.

(19) In the very family of King Kartikeya Padmatdeo, Nimbardeo and Istagandeo, sons of Daishatdeo, the grandson of Dichchhatdeo, donated a piece of land in the name of Badrinath in coronation samvat 4/11/15. Their names are engraved in the Pandukeshwar copper-plate.

(20) Tribhuvanrajdeo of this very family donated two villages in the name of Bagishvar. Then during the period of 300 years, beginning from Sujandeo (referred to above) to Sudarshandeo, there ruled a number of ordinary kings.

(21) In the sixth generation of King Tribhuvandeo was born King Indrapaldeo. His queen Damayanti planted a garden in Chaughanpata, which is now called Ranibagh. Near it exists Damayantital also.

(22) King Lakshmanpaldeo, the son of King Indupaldeo, in Samvat 1059 installed at Baijnath the idol of Laxmi Narayan carved out in balck stone. Now it lies in the temple of Gananath.

(23) After King Laxmanpal kings Udaipal, Basantpal Balinikulpal and Vijaypal after their names built temples at Baidyanath between Samvat 1080-1136.

(24) The Katyuri kings wanted to establish Dvarika also in Dvarahat. The idol of goddess Kalika of the time of King Gurjardeo, carved out in Samvat 1179 still lies in Dvarahat in a broken condition. In the mean time goddess Shitala also was installed here.

(25) In *Samvat* 1238 King Sudhardeo installed the idol of Devi in mount Dunagiri and in Samvat 1240 built a temple of Badrinath in Dvarahat also. Mount Ranikshetra (present Ranikhet) was the pleasure-resort of Padmini, the queen of this very king.

(26) King Mandeo in *Samvat* 1259 gave village Dadim Thok in *patti* Katyur to Basudeo Tripathi. King Somdeo built, in Samvat 1271, a beautiful *naula* in Dvarahat and in Samvat 1276 installed an idol of Ganesh in Ganai-Chaukhutia.

The proofs, if any, of the history which Pt. Ramdatt Tripathi has written might be known to him alone. But, he has blended into one both the main and the subsidiary branches of the Katyuris. The facts wroth nothing in it, have been given here.

Conclusion

On the basis of the above facts we have arrived at this conclusion—

(1) Katyuri kings belonged to the Solar dynasty.

(2) They were *chakravarti* king because they were adorned with the high sounding title of '*Girirajchakrachudamani*'.

(3) Then the natural language was Sanskrit and the spoken language was Pali. The culture of their time was of high class. Their rule was 'rule of virtue'.

(4) They were learned, well-read and virtuous. all their functionaries also were worthy, educated and devoted to their duty. Their administration was high class. Bridges and roads were all good.

(5) The boundary of their kingdom extended from one ocean to another so is written in their copper-plates.

(6) It is written in their copper-plate, their jurisdiction extended to regions and tribes like Gaud, Malava Khas, Huna, Kaling, Karnatak, Lasat, Bhot, Medh, Andharak, Chandal, Andhra, Kirat, and Udra.

(7) Ferishta says that King Porus, who combated with Alexander, was the king of Kumaun.

(8) Shakaditya, the king of Kumaun, had conquered the king of Delhi.

(9) From the above facts it is quite clear that the Katyuri kings once ruled the whole of India as well as in Kabul.

As Cunningham and Atkinson have written, in the time of Hieun-Tsang is in the sixth century A.D. their kingdom extended to Tibet in the north, river Sutlaj in the west, to river Gandak in the east and to Rohilkhand in the south.

History of Kumaun

PART FOUR

The Rule of the Chands
(700 A.D. to 1790 A.D.)

King Som Chand (700-721 A.D.)

When did the Chands come ?

झूँसीग्राम समागत्य जातः कूर्माचले नृपः ।
सोमचन्द्रस्तु शीतांश्च सदृशः शंभु पूजकः ।।

(Ancient genealogy)

1. When did the Chands come ? 2. How did they come ? and 3. From where did they come ? On these points a number of views are prevalent. They are described here in short :

(1) When did the Chands come ?

Pt. Harshdeo Joshi, in 1813 A.D. gave a written report about Kumaun to Mr. Frazer in which he said, "The first king among the Chands was Thohar Chand who came here at the age of 16 or 17 years. Three generation after him, on account of the absence of any successor, Gyan Chand, one of the sons of the uncle of Thohar Chand or Thoar Chand came here." If we accept this, Thohar Chand came to Kumaun in 1261 A.D. and Gyan Chand ascended the throne in 1374 A.D.

In 1818 A.D. Sri Kanaknidhi Premnidhi Tewari, son of Jaideo Tewari and Hariballabh Pande told Mr. Hamilton at Farrukhabad, that King Thor Chand, coming from Jhunsi, accepted service under a certain *Magar* or *Jar* (Jat) king of Nepal. Jaideo accompanied him. This kingdom was under the jurisdiction of the king of Karvirpur. King Thohar Chand and Sri Jaideo summoning other people from the plains crushed the kingdom of Karvirpur and established the kingdom of Champavati and Kurmachal which later on became Kumaun. He did not mention the year but said that this happened 350 years back deducting 350 from 1818 A.D. it came to 1468 A.D. These words Mr. Hamilton has written in his history. Pt. Ramdatt Tripathi (who was a Hindi-writer with Atkinson) writes that prince Som Chand was a descendant of king Khadg Singh, a resident of

Kalinjar. He, along with 24 men such as Sudhanidhi Chaube Sardar and Buddhisen Tadagi Diwan (Kayasth) set out from Pratisthanpur for this country in samvat 1265..." As such a written statement is also got or it is heard that this Som Chand was the nephew of king Mankoti and had come here to see his maternal uncle.

"There is also a hearsay that the people of Bohara *alias* Baura clan, who were the oldest inhabitants of this place, got displeased on account of the grabbing of their rights by the Katyuri king. Out of them Vikram Singh, Dharma Singh and Man Singh went to Prayag. Then from Jhunsi they brought Prince Soni Chand with them. Telling him about the customs, behaviour and ways of this region he got his marriage performed with the daughter of Gambhirdeo, an officer of the Katyuri kings. King Som Chand received as dowry a piece of land yielding an annual income of Rs. 1200/-. Prince Som Chand was intelligent, handsome, strong and expert in the ways of this world. Making Kotwal Chhavani, the capital Champavatpuri, he declared himself the king of that place."

Atkinson writes that Som Chand came there in *samvat* 953 but Pt. Rudradatt Pant has given *samvat*, Christian era and *shake* era all. He has written his notes after sufficient scrutiny and so his notes are authentic. From the investigations we have carried on and the comparisons made with the geneology of Kashipur the exact date of the arrival of King Som Chand could not be known but the date of his accession to the throne is Vikram *samvat* 757 and Shalivahan *samvat* 622 i.e. 700 A.D. This is also the popular belief.

Also the theory regarding the origin of Chand dynasty from Thor Chand or Thohar Chand is wrong. It is a matter of surprise that Harshdeo, being a veteran politician was so ignorant of the ancient history. From children to old men of whole of Kumaun know that king Som Chand first of all came here and the Chand dynasty started from him. Thohar Chand was born in the 23rd generation after king Som Chand.

2. How did the Chands come and defeating the Katyuri, Suryavanshi and Khas kings establish their kingdom here, about this two stories are prevalent. The first is that when the kingdom of the powerful Katyuris came to an end a very few of their descendants ruled here and there as nominal kings. The remaining part of the kingdom was divided into petty principalities of the

Khas kings who residing in forts constructed on high peaks and collecting small armies sacked the kingdom and day and night attacked one another. In the end such an anarchy prevailed that plundering and killing was to be seen everywhere. There was no administration and no rule which could keep the people under control. Even the Rawat king of Daunkot could not tackle the situation. The total subjects were divided into factions and joined the side of their own relations.

The honourable persons among the subjects held a meeting and sent a delegation to the king of Kanauj to request him to send a king to establish peace in Kumaun and run the administration efficiently. He deputed his brother Som Chand. At that time the king of Kanauj was regarded as a sovereign ruler and his empire extended far and wide.

The second story which is more prevalent is that this king Som Chand, was a Chandel Rajput of Solar dynasty who lived in Jhunsi or Pratisthanpur near Allahabad. But from the enquiry made there, nothing could be known about this. The fort of Jhunsi is undoubtedly situated at a very beautiful place and one time it might have been quite majestic but now it is in ruins.

Some persons affirm that once kings of Solar dynasty ruled there. It formed a part of the kingdom of king Jai Chand. Later on when Jai Chand was killed by Shahabuddin Gori, the Chandel Rajputs fled to Prayag, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Benaras. King of Manda belongs to the family of Jai Chand. It is possible that some one from these Chandels might have come to Kumaun.

Once when the astrologers told prince Som Chand that he would be benefitted if he moved to the north, then prince Som Chand, it is said, taking 27 persons with him set out on his journey to Badrinath. The names of his companions are said to be the following :

1. Pt. Sudhanidhi Chaube
2. " Narad Dube
3. " Jaikrishna Pande
4. " Vasudeo Pande
5. " Radhakrishna Shukla
6. " Jaideo Tripathi
7. Pt. Ganesh Paneru
8. Th. Madho Singh
9. " Kamal Singh
10. " Trilok Singh
11. Shri Viddhi Dhivar
12. " Harsukh Dhivar

13. Shri Sushana Nai	17. Shri Biju-personal attendant
14. " Buddh Panvari	18. " Bhauna " "
15. " Vishnu, stick-bearer	19. " Moti, umbrella bearer
16. " Shibba	20-27 ....

It is said that the Karkis and Chaudharis came a bit later than the Chand kings. At that time the king of Kali Kumaun was Brahmdeo or Virdeo Katyuri of Solar dynasty. He was greatly pleased at the conduct and the ways of life of king Som Chand and so he married his only daughter to him and gave him 15 *bighas* of land in dowry and also some *ilakas* (territories of several villages) in Bhavar. King Som Chand built his fort at Champavat and named it Raj Bunga and there itself with his own efforts established a small kingdom. He had four *fauzdars* or *kiledars* who upto now are famous as the four *alas* (1) Karki, (2) Bora, (3) Tadagi and (4) Chaudhari. These four chieftains were the leaders of the people of the four factions and they also lived in forts called *alas*. In the middle of the beautiful and attractive town of Champavat stood the fort of the king. Around it were situated the forts of the *faujdars* who resided in them along with their army. Older people say that at the time of mutiny (*chala*) or an attack when the sound of the drum was produced in the royal fort, the leaders of all the four *alas* came to the capital from all the four sides, accompanied by their army, *nishan*, flag and musical instruments. The descendants of these *faujdars* even now are looked upon with respect and honour though now they neither hold those posts nor possess older royal power. King Som Chand with the help of his *faujdar* Kalu Tadagi having defeated the local Rawat king (Khas king) of Champavat, established his suzerainty over the village near Champavat. He invited the people of his neighbourhood to his court and honoured them. Beside the above mentioned *faujdars*, king Som Chand appointed Joshi Sudhanidhi Chaube of Jhijad, as divan, Shimaltia Pandes as *rajgurus*, Devaliya Pandes as *purohits*, Pauranik Mandaliya Pandes as *karbaris* (managers) and Bishts as a *kardars*. These brahmins came to be called *Chauthanis* and since then upto now are called *Chauthanis*. Later on subjugating the factions of Mahars and Fartyals and with their help how he laid the formulation of *panchayati* government or constitutional administration in Kumaun will be discussed in detail in the chapter

"*Panchayati* government of the Chands." The reign of the government lay in the hands of these of Mahar and Fartyal factions. The leader who commanded the majority was appointed the prime minister and he appointed other *kardars*. The Mahar and Fartyal factions of Kali Kumaun are still well-known. King Som Chand must have been in fact, quite a deserving man as he by controlling these powerful factions of Kali Kumaun, established Chand kingdom there. People say that king Som Chand only in order to dispel outlawry and mutual hostility from the country got the factions of Mahars and Fartyals formed. All the *Brahmins, Rajputs, Vaishyas* and *Shudras* living in the kingdom were divided into two factions one called *malladhada* and the second *talladhada*. Malla belonged to Mahars and *talla* to Fartyals. The king himself joined the faction of the Fartyals and the prince that of the Mahars. Both these factions were regarded as equals. On the occasion of the *tilak* ceremony of the leaders of these two factions, a *brahmin* with the thumbs of both of his hands simultaneously put *tilak* on the heads of both of them. The leaders of these two factions were regarded as the Mahars of Kot and Fartyals of Dungari. In the *danda* of Sui even now they possess old certificates. These very two factions have been ruling over the people of Kali Kumaun since long. The king brought out these two factions under his control; remaining people automatically came under his control. As has been written above, king Som Chand ascended the throne in Rajbunga (capital) in *Vikram samvat* 700, *Shalivahan shake* 622 i.e. 700 A.D. The fort of the Ravat king whom he subdued is situated to the west of Rajbunga at a distance of half a mile. The dilapidated buildings are called Kotwal-Chabutara. Near it is built *pitarauda* or *pitardhunga*. When a Chandel *rajput* dies, people, after his cremation ceremony, taking a small piece of stone, go and place it there.

Within the small kingdom of king Som Chand, Mahars and Fartyals also built fortresses (*bungas*) in their villages. King Som Chand was then only a petty feudatory king. He paid taxes to the king of Doti and was under his authority. At that time the power of the king of Doti was extensive. The Chand king had the status of a petty *zamindar*. But at the time of the death of king Som Chand almost the whole of Kali Kumaun had come under his authority. In addition, he had also brought Dhyanirau, Chaubhainsi, Salam and Rangod *pattis* under his kingdom. King Som Chand is said to be

highly virtuous, abstemious and diplomatic. After ruling for 21 years he died in *samvat* 778, *shake* 643 i.e., 721 A.D. The daughter of the Katyuri king Brahma *alias* Vir Deo was married to him; from her was born prince Atm Chand. He ascended the throne in 721 A.D.

(3) Where did the Chands come from ? The fact of the arrival of the Chands from Jhunsi is prevalent all over Kurmachal. A verse found in the old hand-written genealogy also indicates so. But it is not known why Iliyar writes that they came from Jhansi.

2. **King Atm Chand**

(721-740 A.D.)

On the death of king Som Chand prince Atm Chand became the king. He ruled for 19 years. During his rule also the work of extending the kingdom continued and all the chieftains of the neighbourhood came to his court to pay their homage, some fearing that he might embezzle them by means of his organisational power. The second reason was that he was the nephew of the Katyuri king. This king is said to be religious and dutiful. He carried on the administration well. He died in 740 A.D.

3. **King Purn Chand**

(740-758 A.D.)

King Purn Chand ascended the throne in 740 A.D. About him this much is known that he was highly fond of hunting and instead of spending his time over the administration of the state, spent it on hunting expeditions in Tarai Bhavar. He ruled for 18 years. He performed the worship of gods and goddesses with great pomp and show. In his very life-time he gave his kingdom to prince Indra Chand and completely engrossed himself in the service of goddess Purnagiri. He died after one year in *samvat* 815 *i.e.* 758 A.D.

4. **King Indra Chand**

(758-778 A.D.)

After king Purn Chand prince Indra Chand became the king. He ruled for 20 years. He is said to be highly proud. He regarded himself equal to Indra.

5. **Factory of Silk**

This king opened silk-industry in his kingdom. In the seventh century the queen of Straungjang Gampo brought silk-worms to Tibet from China and his Nepali queen popularised it in Nepal. From there it was brought to Kumaun. This industry continued upto the Gorkhyali rule. In Gorkhyol of the Gorkhyalis this prosperous industry was ruined. For feeding provenders (*chara*) of the silk-worms a large number of mulberry trees were planted. Weavers from the plains were summoned to weave silk. A big building was constructed. In it silk worms were kept and for their provenders, branches of mulberry trees were out and placed there. These worms ate mulberry leaves and had cobwebs like spiders. When the cobwebs got mature the weavers collected and purified them and prepared silk from them. Setting apart some white silk, they dyed the rest in various colours. While dying they spread some rumours in the town. The weavers said that by spreading rumours the colour of silk gets fast and also fine.

6. ***Patrangvali*** **(rumour)**

Rumour spread in the town of Champavati was called *patrangvali*. One *patrangvali* is said to be like this; "One night king Indra Chand, at the time of performing evening worship, was engrossed in the meditation of God. While performing worship laughed abnormally. When the worship was finished the *fulara* and the domestics asked the king the reason of his abnormal laughter at the time of performing *sandhya* (evening worship). At this the king first was greatly embarrased but later on said that dance was being performed in the court of the emperor of Delhi. He also was present there. The dancing girl was dancing and singing excellently. In the course of dancing, her girdle got pressed down under her feet and she feel down. Seeing this all began to laugh on this. The king also had laughed. On making enquiry from Delhi, the noblemen (*amirs*) and the grandees (*umaras*) of the court confirmed that dance had been performed that night. The dancing girl had fallen down. All the people present there had laughed and the king of Kumaun also was there."

Such rumours frequently floated in Champavat. Even now they are called *patarangyal*.

After ruling for 20 years king Indra Chand died in *samvat* 835 *shake* 700, i.e. 778 A.D. His son prince Sansar Chand succeeded him.

7. **King Sansar Chand**

(778-813 A.D.)

He ruled for 35 years but nothing is known about his times.

8. (6) **King Sudha Chand**

(813-833 A.D.)

King Sudha Chand ruled for 20 years. He effected a number of reforms in the administration. He reduced military expenses and freed the subjects from the burden of taxes.

9. (7) **King Hamir Chand alias Hari Chand**

(833-856 A.D.)

He ruled for 3 years. Later on he handed over the administration of the kingdom to his son and became a recluse. He was a religious-minded king.

10. (8) **King Vina Chand**

(856-869 A.D.)

The king remained on the throne for 13 years. He loved merriment and paid less attention to the affairs of the state. He left all the burden of the state on the government servants and himself lay confined in the *harem*. He had no issue. He died in 869 A.D.

11. **Khas Kings**

In the meantime, seeing the reign of the government loose the Khas kings had their day. They set up their national flag to drive out the king and the functionaries who had come there from Kanauj and Jhunsi. They also said that these functionaries kept the king under their control and managed affairs of the state arbitrarily. All the high functionaries were dismissed. Their property and belongings were looted. Some of them were killed, some fled to the plains and some took shelter here and there with the king of the neighbourhood. They also asked the Katyuri kings to establish their authority over their former kingdom but they had no time owing to their domestic and governmental quarrels. They got conveyed the

functionaries of the Chand king, "We have given the kingdom of Kali Kumaun as free gift to our daughter and son-in-law at the time of marriage, so according to the dictates of the code of law (*dharmshastra*) we cannot take it back, it belong to the Chands. They should again conquer it by the prowess of their arms." The Khas kings again sounded their drum of victory. In the mean time upto 15 generations the Khas kings ruled in Kali Kumaun. Except the names of some of them, not a single event of the period of their rule is known. The names too, are peculiar.

1. Bijad - 20 years
2. Jijad - 7 years
3. Jajad - 17 years
4. Jad - 9 years
5. Kalu - 5 years
6. Kalasu - 11 years
7. Jahal - 20 years
8. Mul - 8 years
9. Guna - 19 years
10. Pida (Bidal) - 9 years
11. Nagu - 19 years
12. Bhagu - 11 years
13. Jaipal - 16 years
14. Saupal or Saunpal - 12 years
15. Indra or Imi - 15 years.

Thus the Khas kings ruled for more than about 200 years. During this period there prevailed a commotion among the ancient inhabitants of the whole of northerns India. In Nepal also these very Khas kings ruled for 225 years. These Khas kings spread over the regions right from Kashmir to Kot Kangara; Kumaun, Nepal, Nainital, Darjeeling, Assam and Khasia mountains and on the other side in Rajputana and Vindhyachal. Even among the Khas kings some have been quite powerful. Some of them were also Buddhists. But it is regretful that nothing of the period of their rule is known.

12. (9) **King Vir Chand**

(1065 to 1080 A.D.)

During the period of the national rebellion of the Khas tribe, the Rajputs of the Chand dynasty had shifted to Mal i.e. Tarai Bhavar. In the mean time, when the subjects got fed up with the system of their government, it was decided to invite prince Vir Chand, a relation of king Sansar Chand, who during the time of Khas rebellion, had fled to the *tarai* of Nepal and install him as a king. A chieftain named Srisaun Khadayan was appointed the leader. He collected the *rajputs*, the *brahmans* and the *vaishyas* who

had been expelled during the period of the Chand rulers. He also collected money and material from them and attacked the Khas king and came out victorious. The Khas King Saupal was killed. Again the coronation ceremony of prince Vir Chand was performed in Rajbunga at Kali Kumaun. He again established his relation with Mahars and Fartyals and appointed Joshis, Pandes, Bishts, Tadagis, Chaudharis, Bauras and Karkis etc. on their previous posts. King Vir Chand really performed an act of valiancy in regaining his lost ancestral kingdom. After ruling for 15 years he died in 1080 A.D. In between King Vir Chand and King Trilok Chand nothing else except the names of the kings, is known. So their names are given here :

10. King Rup Chand - ruled for 13 years (1080-1093 A.D.)
11. King Laxmi Chand - ruled for 20 years (1093-1113 A.D.)
12. King Dharm Chand - ruled for 8 years (1113-1121 A.D.)
13. King Karm Chand

    or

    King Kurm Chand - ruled for 19 years (1121-1140 A.D.)
14. Kalyan Chand (?)

    alias

    King Ballal Chand - ruled for 9 years (1140-1149 A.D.)
15. King Nami Chand

    alias

    King Nirbhai Chand - ruled for 21 years (1149-1170 A.D.)
16. King Nar Chand - ruled for 7 years (1170-1177 A.D.)
17. King Nanaki Chand - ruled for 18 years (1177-1195 A.D.)
18. King Ram Chand - ruled for 10 years (1195-1205 A.D.)
19. King Bhishm Chand

    alias

    King Bhisham Chand - ruled for 21 years (1205-1226 A.D.)

(It is said that in village Dhungsil of Chhakhata a Khas king had killed him)

20. King Megh Chand - ruled for 7 years (1226-1233 A.D.)
21. King Dhyan Chand - ruled for 19 years (1233-1251 A.D.)

22. King Parvat Chand - ruled for 9 years (1251-1261 A.D.)
23. King Thor Chand - ruled for 14 years (1261-1275 A.D.)
24. King Kalyan Chand - (2) ruled for 21 years (1275-1296 A.D.)

13. (25) **King Trilok Chand**

(1296-1303 A.D.)

He conquered the kingdom of Chhakhata and annexed it to his kingdom. He also built a fort in Bhimtal so that the western part of his kingdom might remain secure as towards the west lay, till then the independent kingdoms of Khati, Kathi and Katyuri kings. From this it appears that he had once extended his kingdom to Baramandal, Pali and Chhakhata. He ruled for 7 years only. In his time people of Mahara clan came to Chhakhata and were appointed as officers. Also after Trilokchand there have been three kings about whom nothing is known.

26. King Damaru Chand - ruled for 18 years (1303-21 A.D.)
27. King Dharm Chand - ruled for 23 years (1321-44 A.D.)
28. King Abhay Chand - ruled for 30 years (1344-74 A.D.)

14. (29) **King Jnana Chand alias Garud Gyan Chand**

(1374-1419 A.D.)

He ruled for 45 years. Among the Chand kings he alone remained on the throne for the longest period. On assuming the charge of royalty the first thing he did was to go to the emperor of Delhi. In the days of his grandfather the *nawabs* of Rohilkhand had captured Mal or Tarai. King Jnana Chand despatched a letter to the emperor of Delhi that since long the region of Tarai Bhavar had been a part of the kingdom of Kumaun. Formerly it was under the Katyuris, now it should be under the Chand kings. Emperor Muhammad Tughlaq was then on a hunting expedition. The king also went there. There he killed with his arrow an eagle who was carrying a serpent in its beak. Emperor Tughlaq was very much pleased at the skill of the king. He then and there issued a *firman* (order) that the region of Tarai Bhavar upto Bhagirathi Ganga would remain under the king of Kumaun and decorated him with the title of *Garud*. Since then he came to be known as Garud Jnana Chand. After some time he came back to his capital and established his authority over Bhavar and Tarai. This happened between 1410

and 1412 A.D. A few days later the *nawab* of Sambhal captured Talladesh, Bhavar and Tarai, which in those days was called 'Madua-ki-mal (perhaps it was so called after Maduval Boras and some hold that it is a corrupt form of Madhyadesh Mal).

15. **Valiancy of Sardar Nilu Kathayat**

Then in the court of Champavat Sardar Nilu Kathayat held the post of *baksi* (army commander). It is possible that he belonged to the family of Saun Kathayat. He was a highly valiant commander. The king ordered him to drive away the Muslims from Tarai Bhavar and again bring it under the kingdom of Kumaun. Sardar Nilu Kathayat on receipt of the royal order, at the head of a troop, went to Mal and drove away the Muslims from there. Having won victory Nilu Kathayat came to the royal court and made presents to the king and conveyed to him all the information about the victory. The king being pleased granted him the title of *Kumayyan Khillat*, besides he also gave him by way of *raut* (a fief granted to a man who performs an extra-ordinary feat of bravery) three villages in Mal and twelve *jyulas* land in Dhyanirau. By way of its *sanad* (certificate) an inscription engraved on a slab of Gwalior stone was displayed in Kaprauli, the village of Sardar Nilu Kathayat. In the court of this very king there was a *khawas* named Sri Jassa Kamlekhi. His *bunga* (fort) lay in village Kamlekh. That fort is now in ruins. He was the most intimate courtier of the king. He entertained inimical designs towards Nilu Kathayat. He was jealous of his reputation, dignity and bravery. So one day he secretly said to the king, "Nilu Kathayat is the *baksi*, is brave and has liberated Madua-ki-Mal from the hands of the Nawab. So he should be also appointed as the governor of the place." The king did not like this, but a sycophant of Jassa through deception made the king agreeable and an order along with a *khillat* (robe of honour) was issued in the name of Nilu Kathayat that he had been appointed the *sardar* of Mal and so he should look after its management and habitate it. On getting this order Nilu Kathayat was much displeased and began to say that on one hand the king had honoured him for his great valiancy but on the other by transferring him to the bad climate of Tarai Bhavar, had decided to kill him. On account of the bad climate of Tarai Bhavar in summer and rainy seasons, people of the hills have always been afraid of going there. Further, when Nilu came to know that the king had transferred him to Tarai Bhavar on the advice of his

arch enemy Jassa Kamlekhi he got red hot. Immediately riding a horse he went to the court of the king at Champavat and without putting on the court-dress which the king had given him, appeared before the king. On this Jassa Kamlekhi exaggerated the matter further saying that as Nilu Kathayat had come to the court without putting on the court dress, he had deeply insulted the king and he was a highly concieted officer. At this the king suffered from a fit of anger. He did not accept Nilu's salutations and turned his face. Nilu Kathayat also returning from there went to his village Kaprauli. Seeing him dejected, his wife, who was the daughter of Sirmaur Mahar, asked him, "What is the reason of your sorrow ? You are neither in the court dress nor have you brought clothes for children and ladies and sweets and other thing." Nilu said that he had come being displeased with the king who had insulted him at the instigation of Jassa. His wife said to him, "By quarrelling with the king you have not done a good thing, because it is impossible to survive without '*raj*' (royal patronage) and '*naj*' (grains). So I shall send my sons Suju and Biru to serve the king." Nilu asked her not to do so, as Jassa might get them killed. But she sent them to her brother—their maternal uncle-Sirmauli Mahar. The boys could not locate their uncle's house. They fell into the hands of Jassa. The poor, simple and innocent boys plainly told him the reason of their arrival. Crooked Jassa outwardly warmly entertained and lodged them in his house but told the king that he had confined in his bungalow the sons of Nilu Kathayat who had come to kill him (king). The king summoned them to his place and ordered that their eyes be pulled out. The executionists taking them to Goralchaud extracted their eyes. When their maternal grandfather came to know about it, he called them to his place, asked about all the happenings and sent a letter to Nilu Kathayat saying, "Is it your valiance that you remaining in your house indulge yourself is merry-making and the eyes of my maternal grandsons have been pulled out ?" This letter made Nilu afire and he immediately along with his relations and a troop attacked the Champavatis. The king and Jassa leaving their palace (*tharp*) fled to the jungle and there hid themselves in a cave (*udyar*). Nilu searched the whole palace and the fort but could not get the king. Later on some one told him the whereabouts of the king. Nilu went into the cave and cought hold of both of them. But he set the king free and saluting him said, "I shall not kill you as it will be against loyalty and my family will be put to

calumny; but Jassa is my enemy, I shall not spare him." Saying so he killed Jassa and leaving the king behind went straight to Kamlekh. There he plundered the *bunga* (fort) of Jassa and set fire to it. He killed all the males and tore open the bellies of women on family way. Collecting all the wealth he went to his home in Kaprauli. Since then this fort is lying in ruins. It was situated on the slope of a mountain towards Almora from Phadka. Later on the king came to his palace and heard everything. He sent a message to Nilu Kathayat that whatever he did, he did it at the suggestion of Jassa Kamlekhi and as Nilu Kathayat had not betrayed him, so he also could behave with him in the former way. Thus Nilu was again appointed to the post of *baksi* but the king was at heart very much annoyed on account of his conceit and insulting behaviour. He was always on a look out for an opportunity to kill him. At last one day he got him killed deceitfully. For this the king became an object of much calummy. King Garud Gyan Chand after ruling for 45 years died in *samvat* 1476 *shake* 1341 i.e. 1490 A.D. His son prince Harihar Chand ascended the throne.

16. (30) **King Harihar Chand alias Hari Chand**

(1419-1420 A.D.)

King Harihar Chand *alias* Hari Chand ruled only for one year. He always remained engrossed in the performance of religious rites and worship of gods. He was keenly interested in religious discourses and spiritual discussions. He died in *samvat* 1477 i.e. 1420 A.D. His son prince Udyan Chand ascended the throne.

17. (31) **King Udyan Chand**

(1420-1421 A.D.)

This king also ruled for one year only. He was greatly depressed at his grandfather's oppressive act of deceitfully killing valiant Nilu Kathayat and getting the eyes of his son pulled out. So he built temples at a number of places, constructed *naulas* and got performed by the brahmins worship of gods and religious performances. At Champavat itself he built the temple of Baleshvar and exempted all the subjects from the revenue of the year and also gratified the poor beggars. At this very time Pt. Sri Chand Tewari, a Gujrati brahmin, had come to Kali-Kumaun from Tewar, a town in Gujrat. His son Shukdeo also was with him. The son could meet the

king but the father could not. So Srichand being displeased went to Baramandal. Those days a king of the Katyuri family ruled at Bisaudkot and another Katyuri king at Khagmarkot. They were hostile to each other. The king of Bisaudkot, making provision for his travelling expenses and conveyance, got Shrichand Tewari escorted across river Suval, to the end of his kingdom. Later on the encamped in the gardens attached to the palace of the king of Khagmarkot. The gardener of the palace was carrying a basket full of flowers and fruits for the king. Srichand Tewari, saw this basket and asked the gardener where he was taking it. The gardener replied that he was taking it to the king. Mr. Tewari asked the gardener not to give a particular lemon to the king as it contained another lemon inside it and if he saw or ate it, it would not be in his interest. But the king, though forbidden to do so, cut the fruit and found that actually another fruit lay within it. At this the king called in Mr. Tewari and said that the symptoms, as he said, were found within the lemon and asked him as to what steps were to be taken in respect of it. Then Mr. Tewari said that the place where the fruit had been produced should be donated to a worthy brahmin. Then the king said, "You alone are a deserving person." Mr. Tewari said that he was an outsider living at a great distance, so what would he do with the land. But when the king greatly insisted he accepted the land. There was scarcity of water there. Mr. Tewari who was expert in *tantrik* art, created water by means of Prokshan *mantra*.

In the meantime the king of Bisaut *patti* attacked Khagmarakot. The Katyuri king leaving Khagmarakot went to Syunarakot. The idea of extending his kingdom came to the mind of king Udyan Chand also. So he attacked the feudatory king of Chaugarkha and drove him away. Chaugarkha was annexed to the kingdom of Kali Kumaun. Later on this king seized the kingdoms and forts of the kings of Maharyudi, Uchyur and Bisaut and hoisted his royal flag there. At the time of his death the extent of his kingdom was as follows : from Sarayu in the north to Tarai in the south and from Kali in the east to Kosi and Suval in the west. In Gangoli, to the north of Saryu, Mankoti kings ruled. These kings belonged to Lunar dynasty and had come from Nepal. Sor, Sira, Askot and Darma Johar were under the jurisdiction of the king of Doti. The king of Jumla ruled over Vyans and Chaudans. Katyuri kings ruled in Katyur, Syunara and Lakhanpur. Faldakot was in the

possession of a Khati *rajput*. Ramgad and Kota were under the rule of a Khas king. In *samvat* 1478 i.e. 1431 A.D. this king died.

Pt. Ramdatt Jyotirvid writes that in a certain geneology it is written that the Katyuri kings had married their daughter to King Udyan Chand and given him four *pattis* of De, Assi, Chalsi and Rangod in dowry. But no other historian has mentioned this fact.

18. (32) **King Atma Chand (2)**

(1421-1422 A.D.)

In 1421 A.D. King Udyan Chand died. Then King Atma Chand (2) ascended his throne. But he also died within a year. After him his son prince Hari Chand became the king.

19. (33) **King Hari Chand (2)**

(1422-1423 A.D.)

This king also died after ruling only for one year.

20. (34) **King Vikram Chand**

(1433-1437 A.D.)

After Hari Chand (2) king Vikram Chand ascended the throne. In a copper plate of his time, in respect of the temple of Baleshvar he says that he completed the work begun by his grandfather Udyan Chand. This copper-plate was issued in *shake* 1345 in favour of Srikunj Sharma, a Gujrati Brahmin. In it is written : Om ! There be victory. In *shake* year 1345 on the day of *ashadhi purnamasi* during the period when Vishnu is asleep, the king, the lord of the earth, crest-jewel among kings and fulfiller of his promise, granted land to Kunjeshvar and Maheshvari in the town of Champavat of Kurm Kingdom. Vikram Chand is like a *Kalpadrum* (desire-yielding tree). He with his sword conquered the great rulers and kept protected the land, which Sri Krachalladeo had donated. He has asked to repair the temple.

Witnesses - Madho, Sejyal, Prabhu, Vishnu, Gagatmuni, Virsingh Gahmari, Jailu Badyal. Writer - Rudrasharma. In *Pantnavisi* Chauthan court. Auspicious Raiku.

This copper-plate was composed by Rampatani. '*Pantnavisi chauthan*' means 'the office of the state ministers.' This might have been copied from the *daftar* (office) of the Muslims where court was

called *pantnavisi.* In the days of the Chands 'Chauthan' also has been used for the court. The Marathas also called the court as *pantnavisi.*

There was much bloodshed in the days of Garud Gyan Chand. The subjects had got annoyed and sad because of the oppressions of the Chand kings. So by way of expiation for their sins their sons and the grandsons decided to pacify the people by the performance of religions acts. By building temples, *naulas* and alms-houses and giving feasts on the occasion of their consecration and by granting *jagirs* (fiefs) to the people the king wanted to please them. In 1424 A.D. this king also donated a village to Shri Kulomani Pande. Though Vikram Chand in the beginning performed religious acts, at the end giving, up the state-administration, turned his mind to the pleasures of life. At this his nephew Bharati bringing the people of the Khas clan to his side raised the banner of revolt against him. The leader of the Khas people was Shri Shaud Karayat who at that time was a highly valiant and powerful man. He beat away Vikram Chand and got village Mala in *jagir.* About Shaud Karayat there is an ancient inscription running thus : "King Vikram Chand killed the son of Shaud Karayat by putting him inside a wall of the palace. Then Shaud Karayat brought all the Kumaunis of Visung on his side and attacking the king drove him away." After ruling for 14 years Vikram Chand was compelled to flee leaving his kingdom. Then his nephew became the king.

21. (35) **King Bharati Chand**
(1437-1450 A.D.)

King Bharati Chand is said to be a popular, courageous and valiant king and a man of high moral character. He with the help of the people ascended the throne after dethroning his uncle who was averse to the affairs of the State. It is not known what fault Shaud Karayat committed again for which the king got him imprisoned in Bhavar. Till then only the Ranika or Raika kings of Doti belonging to the Mall family were regarded as the sovereign rulers of the region of Kali Kumaun. The descendants of the younger brothers of this family were called Mallashahis. Under the name of Bamshahi they held their authority in Sor and Sira. This was unbearable for Bharati Chand. He stopped paying taxes. Then began a war. Bharati Chand at the head of a huge army encamped at Bali Chaukad on

the bank of Kali and started plunderings and killings in the regions around Doti. The war continued for 12 years. Never before that had the army stayed in a field outside the fort for such a long time.

22. The Origin of Naiks

Atkinson in his *Gazetteer* writes that illicit sexual relation of the soldiers of the camp got established with the ladies of the neighbouring village. High *rajput* officers, kept them in their houses without marrying them. These ladies came to be called '*Katakuali*' (belonging to the army). Their issues were counted among the *rajputs* and later on came to called *naiks* who made their daughters and sisters adopt the hateful profession of prostitutes. On account of this misdeed many of the *rajputs* so much fell down in the eyes of the Hindus that they began to be regarded as inferior even to the *khasas*.

23. Conquest of Doti

Seeing his father engaged in war for 12 years his valiant son prince Ratna Chand collecting more army with the help of the king of Kather reached to the help his brave father. As the newly arrived American army made the allied nations victorious in France, so this fresh army of prince Ratna Chand infused new life in the camp of Bharati Chand. The king of Doti was defeated and he fled from the battle-field. The kings of Jumla, Bajang and Thal were also crushed and from this time the Chands became virtually independent kings. The royal umbrella of the king of Doti was removed. All the kings of Sor Sira came under him. In 1450 king Bharati Chand in his lifetime handed over the throne to his son and cut himself off from the affairs of the state. There is a copper-plate of the time of king Bharati Chand issued in the name of Ramkanth Kuletha in which some land has been granted to him. King Bharati Chand died in 1461 A.D. He ruled for about 13 years.

24. (36) King Ratna Chand (1450-1488 A.D.)

King Ratna Chand, the worthy son of king Bharati Chand, ascended the throne in the very life time of his father. He ascended the throne at a very fortunate moment. The king pleased at his bravery first granted him *pargana* Chaugarkha as a fief (*raut*) and

later on handed over the whole of his kingdom to him. During the time of King Ratna Chand the influence of the kings of Kumaun greatly increased. Their authority was established all over. In 1462 A.D. he visited the temple of Jageshvar and regarding the god as the cause of his being fortunate, he worshipped there with great devotion, gave a feast to mendicants, built an alms-house and donated many villages for worship and *bhog* (food to be offered to an idol). Returning from there he again began ruling in Champavat with great pomp. He also established friendly relations with the kings of Kather alias Rohilkhand and fought from their side in the battle of Doti. After ascending the throne he made a tour of his kingdom. In consultation with all the villagers he also finalised a type of settlement of the land. It is said that he alone among the Chands effected this first settlement.

25. **War with Doti again**

While describing the rule of Bharati Chand it has been said that the king of Doti was called a Raika or Ranika king. They belonged to the Malla family. The eldest brother, the successor to the throne, was called Ranika or Raika but the other princes were called Mallashahis. King Nagmall of the family of a younger prince defeating a Ranika king of Doti belonging to Shahi family, made himself a king. The king of Doti fled away and took shelter with a Chand king in Champavat. Nagmall not only appointed himself as a king but also wanted to bring the king of Kumaun again under his authority. King of Doti allowed the petty princes of his kingdom, who accepted him as their sovereign, paid him taxes, to adopt the title of kings. Since the Chands, separating themselves from the king of Doti, became independent, they also did the same thing. They called themselves the kings of Champavat. The name of their fort was Rajbunga, they did not grant others the right of being called kings. After the death of King Bharatichand in 1462 A.D. King Nagmall, having expelled the Shahi family appointed himself as the king of Doti and compelled King Ratnachand also to give him *Khiraz* (tribute), but the latter was not inattentive. Accompanied by his army he gave Nagmall a tough fight. Nagmall was killed. King Ratnachand again seated a king of the same family on the throne. Formerly the Chand kings were the feudatories of Doti, but now the position had changed; the king of Doti became his feudatory. Being greatly delighted at the victory, king Ratna Chand also invaded the

kingdoms of Jumla, Bajang and Thal etc. Then Jagannath Bhatt was the king of Jumla. The name of the king of Bajang was Khadku Singh Mahar and the king of Thal was Sursingh Mahar. When they saw no way to escape they jointly made peace with the king of Kumaun and each of them agreed to pay him the following annual tax :

(1) One *nabha* musk, (2) One bow (*dharayun*), (3) One quiver (*tunan*) full of arrows (*vana*), (4) One horse and (5) One hawk. The kings of all these regions regularly paid this tax to the Chand kings. It was on this account that upto the end of the Chand rule, the king of Bajang ascended the throne after the grant of *Khillat* (robe of honour) from the court of the Chands. In the 18th century A.D. these petty kingdoms were amalgamated in the extensive kingdom of Nepal. Since then the payment of this tax was stopped. The names of these kings of Bajang are known :

(1) King Uttam Singh
(2) King Raghunath Singh
(3) King Sheoraj Singh
(4) King Indra Singh
(5) King Ratna Singh
(6) King Mahendra Singh
(7) King Gajraj Singh (was alive in 1850 A.D.)

26. **Bam Kings of Sor**

After hoisting the flag of victory of the Chand kingdom in Doti, the victorious army of King Ratna Chand annexed the *pargana* of Sor to the kingdom of Kumaun. Till now the Mall king of Sira had included the *pargana* in his kingdom. From amongst the nine kings of Sor whose names are known, the king of Udaipurkot was called Bam. This king during winters went to Rameshvar in Raulpatti to bask himself in the sun and stayed there in the fort of Bailorkot. The ruins of the palace and the market still exist there. A big *naula*, named Dhar-men-ka-naunla, is said to have been built by that king. When the king stayed in Udaipurkot in summers and rainy seasons the *sais* took the horses from the stables to the lower plains to make them run and walk, so this place is named *ghodsal* (stable). It is located below village Bajeti. The complete geneology of Bam kings is not available. The names available are given below :

1. Karakil Bam
2. Kakil Bam
3. Chanari Bam
4. Arki Bam
5. Jnani Bam
6. Shakti Bam
7. Vijai Bam
8. Hari Bam

Patanis, Punethas and Bhatts were the former functionaries of these kings. Bhatts and Upadhyayas were the priests and teachers. The *brahmins*, like Joshis, Upretis and Pandes were also honoured in the royal court. The people of Valdiya caste regard themselves as belonging to the Kethedias of Kathed. They were also in the army.

Soradi, Deupa, Purchuda, Paderu and Chiral these five kinds of Rajputs were brought to Sor by king Ratna Chand from the other side of Kali. He granted them fiefs (*jagirs*) and settled them down there. The Chand kings also established their matrimonial relations with them. They exist till now. Only the Chirals from them have again gone to Doti.

27. **The Story of Sri Jaidan Kiral**

In the time of king Bam there was a royal functionary named Sri Jaidan Kiral. He belonged to *patti* Valdiya of *mauja* Kirigaon. He was the settlement officer. He made the settlement of the whole of this *pargana* and carried on for the first time its measurement. He entered into records the land which the people had concealed and thus raised the revenue. For bringing to light the concealed land and enhancing the revenue Sri Jaidan became unpopular among the people. They conspired to kill him. Jaidan had gone to suppress the neighbouring villages where people having refused to pay the revenue had risen in rebellion. People hatched a conspiracy and conveyed the false news to his wife that Jaidan had been killed. Hearing the news she burst forth into tears. Then the people cunningly consoled her that what was the use of weeping, what was to happen had already happened; they advised her that she to save her honour, should commit *sati* (self-immolation) and if she burnt herself with all the settlements papers prepared by her husband the soul of her dead husband would get peace. The devoted wife did accordingly. From that day a story is prevalent among the people :

"मरि गयो जैदाँ जलाई हालि वै।
जसि जसि सोरयाल कूनी तसि तसि भै।।"

"Jaidan died and his documents were burnt, as the people of Sor said so it happened."

The conspiracy of the people was that the settlement documents be burnt down, then Jaidan Kiral owing to the burning

down of his wife and the documents would immediately die. It exactly happened so.

King Ratna Chand after ruling for 27 years died in *samvat* 1545, *shake* 1410 i.e. 1488 A.D.

28. (37) **King Kirti Chand**

(1488-1503 A.D.)

King Kirti Chand ascended the throne in 1488 A.D. with great pomp and show. He was not less famous warrior than his father. He is said to be a valiant and a fearless king. He was busy day and night in preparing his forces and sending them here and there. He wanted to grab the kingdom of each and every king. The father of this king had brought the kingdom of Doti under Kumaun but the king of Doti now wanted to make himself independent again. King Kirti Chand also began to prepare himself for the battle. There the king of Doti brought and stationed a large army on the bank of Kali and from there began a raid on the kingdom of Kumaun. It is said that one day when King Kirti Chand was playing dice he got the news of the military invasion and hearing about the great strength of the army, he was very much perturbed.

29. **The Story of Nagnath Siddh**

In the meantime, through the grace of God, a *yogishvar* named Baba Nagnath Siddh arrived in Champavat and encamped in front of *Rajbunga* (the royal palace). The king went to him and after offering him presents told him about the invasion of the king of Doti on him. The *faqir* was kind-hearted. He consoled the king and asked him not to go to the battle-field. The sage took out a whip and asked the king to give it to his *baksi* (military commander) as with its help he would be able to drive away the Raika king like a bastard horse. The king was happy and taking the whip came to his palace and explained everything to the *baksi*. King Kirti Chand was a battle-lover; so he himself wanted to go to the battle-field. But owing to the advice of the Siddh Baba he stayed back. As per order of the king, the *baksi*, taking the whip went to Doti. His army came out victorious and the army of Doti got defeated. Since that day King Kirti Chand came to be regarded as a highly powerful king. The king completely came under the influence of Baba Nagnath. This

temple still stands in front of the fort of Champavat. Baba Nagnath became the chief advisor of the king. Then he again told the king that it was an opportune time for waging a war; it was a lucky *muhurt* (moment); if war was waged on the western side, victory was certain. His *guru* Shri Satyananth had gone to Garhwal. Baba Nagnath asked him to extend his kingdom upto that place and rule fearlessly.

30. **The Second Story**

About Baba Nagnath in an ancient genealogy it is written, "A split-eared (*kanfata*) ascetic named Nagnath told the king that upto the place the sound of his '*nad*' (cry) would reach, no enemy would dare stand and victory would be achieved in the country." At another place there is written in the language of the hill :

नागनाथ जोगी द्वार बैठियो छियो। जोगी लै अपनो बानो सेलीनाद भगवा कपड़ा करी, कीर्तिचंद का ७00 कटक करा। यो क्यो कि जां तक नाद को शब्द सुनाले तां तक मुल्क फतह होई, तेरो राज्य होई जालो। राजा मुल्क सर करणासूं लगाई दियो। राजा लै पैली चौभैंसी मारी, फिर सालम मारो, फल्दाकोट, उचाकोट, धनियाँकोट मारा। कोटौली, छखाता, कोटा मारी, बारामंडल पछौं मारी। गढ़ मारी, गढ़ को राजा भाजीवेर दुमाक गयो। जोगी का प्रभाव लै कैले ठाड़ी नी करी। फिर गढ़ को राजा बुलाई वीको राज्य दियो और वीका सिर सूनूं को कर ठहरायो।

i.e. Baba Nagnath was sitting at the royal entrance. He got his clothes dyed in *bhagva* colour and collected for king Kirti Chand an army consisting of 700 soldiers. He said that his kingdom would extend upto the place the sound of the instrument would be heard. He sent the king on victory-expedition. The king first conquered Chaubhainsi and then captured Salam, Faldakot, Uchakot and Dhaniyakot. He also conquered Kotoli Chhakhata, Kota, Baramandal and Pali-Pachhaun, and also conquered Garhwal. The king of Garh fled away and hid himself. Owing to the prowess of Baba none could stand before the king. Again he summoned the king of Garhwal and returned his kingdom to him and compelled him to give gold in tax."

31. **Conquest of Baramandal**

After the Khas king and the end of the unbearable fame of Kartikayapur, petty feudatory kings of the Katyuri family established their kingdom in Baramandal and Bisaut. Seventy years

earlier when King Udyan Chand ruled in Champavat, king Virsingh Deo Katyuri captured Bisautkot to the east of Banaridevi. His kingdom extended upto river Suval. On the other side of Suval another Katyuri king ruled in Khagmarakot lying below the Almora mountain. Atkinson writes that in an old temple, on the bank of river Suval, a slab of stone was found on which was written Arjundeo *samvat* 1364 (1307 A.D.) and on a slab of stone in a temple in Almora was written *samvat* 1405 (1348 A.D.); the name of the builder was Nirampaldeo. Both the names appear to be of Katyuri kings. King Udyan Chand also renovated the temple of Baleshvar but at the time of its consecration ceremony, instead of inviting Pt. Shrichand Tewari, he invited his son Pt. Sukhdeo Tewari. How enraged Srichand came to Khagmarkot has been described in the past pages. As soon as the king of Bisaut conquered Khagmarakot, the army of the Chands coming from the backside captured both Bisaut and Baramandal. They first captured Khagmarakot and then invaded Syunara.

32. **Kaidarau and Baurarau Annexed to Chand Kingdom**

The Katyuri king fled from Syunara to Baurarau. There the Katyuri king and his soldiers fought with great bravery. The Katyuri king in night had killed the advanced army of king Kirti Chand. At this, king Kirti Chand was much enraged. He ordered general massacare in Kaidarau and Baurarau. People, where-ever found, were killed. King Ratna Chand occupied the regions between Gagas and Kosi and then appointed the people of Kaida and Baura clan, who had supported him on the posts of *kaminchari* and inhabited Kaidarau and Baurarau.

33. **Conquest of Pali**

After this, king Kirti Chand sent his victorious army to invade Pali. The Katyuri king of Pali thinking that they were unable to face king Kirti Chand and, if they faced him, their fate would be like that of Baramandal, sent a peace proposal to king Kirti Chand and invited him within the fort of Lakhanpur, and after friendly meeting, told king Kirti Chand that he should treat Pali *pargana* and its subjects also as his own; they should not be harassed in any way. The Katyuri king of Pali built their palace and also a fort at Manila Danda in Salt *patti*. King Kirti Chand also having established

his authority over Pali allowed the Katyuris to live peacefully in Manila and Pali. Now they practically remained as good as *zamindars*.

34. **Battle of Faldakot**

After conquering Pali, king Kirti Chand invaded Faldakot where the Khati kings ruled. A story also goes,

"पहाड़ में खाती, देश में हाथी"

"Khatis rule in the mountains and elephants in the plains." A fierce battle took place with the king of Faldakot. The king was killed but his soldiers and the people of the *patti* continued fighting. There also king Kirti Chand ordered the general massacare of the people of Faldakot and from amongst his soldiers appointed Maharas, Karayats and Dheks as *kamins*, *sayanas* and *jagirdars* and settled them down in Faldakot and making settlement of all the *pattis* and giving the charge of all the affairs to his officers and also conquering Kutauli, returned to Champavat via Dhyanirau. After this he proceeded towards Mal in plains and established his fort near Jaspur and named it Kirtipur. Till now it is known by that very name. In the time of Kirti Chand, except Katyur, Danpur, Askot, Sira and Sor, the whole of Kumaun had come under his jurisdiction. This king after having conquered about the three fourths of Kurmachal died in1503 A.D. It is said that this king with an intention to conquer Garhwal also had reached upto Baharsyun but later on, on the advice of Baba Satyanath, fixing his boundary near Deghat, left the regions to its west for the king of Garhwal. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes that the kingdom of this king extended in the plains also upto the bank of Bhagirathi. King Kirti Chand was the most powerful, active and victorious king in the Lunar dynasty.

35. **(38) King Pratap Chand**

(1503-1517 A.D.)

King Pratap Chand ascended the throne in 1503 A.D. He kept himself engaged in looking after the administration and other affairs of the kingdom conquered by his father. He did not conquer any new region but only toured the regions conquered by his father. The whole of the region conquered by him (his father) remained intact under him. A deed of gift of 1510 A.D. issued in his time still exists. He died in 1517 A.D.

earlier when King Udyan Chand ruled in Champavat, king Virsingh Deo Katyuri captured Bisautkot to the east of Banaridevi. His kingdom extended upto river Suval. On the other side of Suval another Katyuri king ruled in Khagmarakot lying below the Almora mountain. Atkinson writes that in an old temple, on the bank of river Suval, a slab of stone was found on which was written Arjundeo *samvat* 1364 (1307 A.D.) and on a slab of stone in a temple in Almora was written *samvat* 1405 (1348 A.D.); the name of the builder was Nirampaldeo. Both the names appear to be of Katyuri kings. King Udyan Chand also renovated the temple of Baleshvar but at the time of its consecration ceremony, instead of inviting Pt. Shrichand Tewari, he invited his son Pt. Sukhdeo Tewari. How enraged Srichand came to Khagmarkot has been described in the past pages. As soon as the king of Bisaut conquered Khagmarakot, the army of the Chands coming from the backside captured both Bisaut and Baramandal. They first captured Khagmarakot and then invaded Syunara.

32. Kaidarau and Baurarau Annexed to Chand Kingdom

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36. **(39) King Tara Chand**

(1517-1533 A.D.)

After king Pratap Chand king Tara Chand ruled for 16 years but nothing is known about him.

37. **(40) King Manik Chand**

(1533-1542 A.D)

In 1533 A.D. on the death of king Tara Chand king Manik Chand ascended the throne. He ruled for 9 years. In his time a memorable event took place. In 1541 Khavas Khan, a competitor of Islam Shah for the throne of Delhi, fled over to Kumaun and begged shelter. But the emperor of Delhi wrote to the king of Kumaun to send Khavas Khan to Delhi. The imperial commander was ordered that if the king of Kumaun did not surrender Khavas Khan to him, he should devastate his country. The reply the king gave is worth noting with a pen of gold. "How can I imprison the man who has begged for my shelter. Till my last breath I would not be guilty of such a mean act." Khavas Khan later on surrendered and by the order of Islam Shah his head was chopped off and husk was filled in his skin. Atkinson writes that Abdulla in his *Tawarikh-i-Daudi* has praised the act of bravery by the Chand kings of Kumaun. Atkinson writes "The magnanimity shown by the Kumaon Raja is a bright spot in the annals of the Chands and is recognised even by Mussalman historians".

Writing reply of a petty king in such words to the 'Lord of Delhi' equal to the 'Lord of the World', was not a matter of ordinary boldness but a matter of chivalary and burning example of the goodness of the people of mountains but also of the observance of the duty of protecting a person seeking shelter.

39. **(41) King Kalyan Chand (III)**

(1542 - 1551 A.D.)

After ruling for nine years king Manik Chand died. After him king Kalyan Chand ascended the throne. He was a highly ill-tempered king. So the people had named him as Kali Kalyan Chand. He oppressed the people very much and arbitrarily punished the people owing to which, it is said, great dissatisfaction grew among all the subjects.

40. **(42) King Puni Chand *alias* Purna Chand**
(1551 - 1555)

After Kali Kalyan Chand prince Puni Chand *alias* Purna Chand became the king. After ruling for four years he died. After him king Bhishm Chand alias Bhikham Chand ascended the throne.

41. **(43) King Bhishm Chand**
(1555-1560 A.D.)

King Bhishm Chand ascended the throne in 1555 A.D. This king also was not good natured. He had no issue either. So he adopted prince Kalyan Singh, son of King Tara Chand. His nick name was Balo. So he came to be known as Balo Kalyan Chand. In 1556 again a conspiracy was hatched in Doti. Prince Balo Kalyan Singh was sent there with an army. In the meantime the news of rebellions came from Pali and Syunara. The old king had to go there with an army. King Bhishmchand also started realising that the kingdom had grown in extent. The capital Champavat was situated in a corner and so it was not a fit place for being a capital; it should have been well in a central place. So king Bhishm Chand renovated the old fort of Khagmarakot and decided to establish his capital there. The foundation stone of the town of Alamnagar was also laid there. As soon as this news spread here and there, a conspiracy was hatched to spoil his plan of the establishment of a town. In Ramgad, near Gagar, there lived a *sardar* of the Khas clan named Gajuwathinga who called himself a semi-independent king. He had escaped from being suppressed at the time of the invasion of king Kirti Chand. He collected a big army and invaded Khagmarakot and when king stealthily went there at night, chopped off the head of the old Chand king and also killed many of his companions sleeping there and also appointed himself as the king of Baramandal; but the dream of his independence did not last long. As soon as the news reached Kali Kumaun, Balo Kalyan Chand made peace with the Dotials and taking the whole of army with him invaded Ramgad and Khagmarakot and fully avenged the death of his father. He massacred all. Gajuwathinga was also killed. The place where Gajuwathinga was killed, even today after his name is known all over as Gajuwathinga. This happened in 1560. King Balo Kalyan Chand again celebrated with great pomp and show his triumph over the regions of Kutauli and Ramgad.

42. (44) King Balo Kalyan Chand
(1560 - 1568 A.D.)

Having established peace all around and having avenged the killer of his father, King Balo Kalyan Chand ascended the throne. In pursuance of his father's wish he founded a town above Khasiyakhola Danda. They were ordered to carry from here Bhilmora grass for clearing the utensils of god Katarmall (some people call it Almora, Chalmora, Bilmora, Kilmora also). The king selected the place for building his palace here as it lay in the middle of his kingdom and there was plenty of water; stone for piling and thatching and the forest of pine trees sufficient for wood. So it was decided to found a town in the centre of Devalikhan, Tyadikhan, Sitaulikhan and Chinakhan. But this place belonged to Srichand Tewari. Katyuri king had given it to him in gift, so the king requisitioned its certificate. He got separated his land from the *khalasa* (belonging to the state) land and paid some compensation and gave him ten times land in Nadigaon in the *pargana* of Chhahhala. He built the first palace for himself above the old Nailpokhar, which is now located in Paltan Bazar. He issued orders to establish market and a town also.

The name Alamnagar could not be popular, Almora became prevalent. It is said, "Almora was named after the Almoriyas who carried Almora grass." The town of Almora was founded in *samvat* 1620 *shake* 1485 and in 1563 A.D.

Along with this king came the Joshis of Selakhola and Jhijad who held the posts of *wazir* and *baksi*. Here also they got villages such as Jhijad etc. in fief. From among the Chauthani brahmins the Bishts of Dadya and Mandaliya Pandes had already left the posts earlier. So they stayed on in Kali Kumaun, the rest stayed on there.

But seeing dis-satisfaction among the people of Kali Kumaun, later on settled down in Almora also the people of both the factions of Mahara and Fartyal and also the Chauthani Brahmins and settling down Brahmins, Rajputs and Khas Rajputs in the regions of Baramandal, Pali and Faldakot etc. and as earlier divided in two factions (*dhada*). They retained the descendents of the Katyuri Kings of Pali in Sayanchari and also established matrimonial alliances with them.

43. Mankoti Kings of Gangoli

As soon as the court of the Chand kings was established in Kumaun there came the news of broil from Gangoli. The beautiful and fertile land lying between Sarayu and Ramganga is famous as Gangavali (Gangoli). A king of Lunar dynasty had been ruling here since a long time. They were called Mankoti Kings.They were practically independent and paid a nominal tax to the king of Doti. The progenitor of this family was king Karm Chand. Upreti was his *divan*. There arose a quarrel between the king and the ministers. The Upreti minister deceitfully got the king killed in the forest while on hunting and circulated the news that the king was killed by a tiger. The queen smelt a rat in this statement. She entrusted her son to Pant Brahmins and taking the turban of the king committed *sati* in Sarayuganga. It is said that while committing *sati* she pronounced a curse—"As it has been said that my husband has been killed by a tiger so in future also people here shall be killed by tigers". In Gangoli even now tigers are found in abundance. A story also goes : "खत्याड़ी साग, गंगोली बाघ।"

The Pants fulfilled their promise made to *sati* and enthroned Tara Chand, the son of Karm Chand. The Pants got the land of the Upretis called Upretyad *alias* Uparada as fief. All the state business passed into the hands of the Pants. They alone were appointed *divans*, *pauraniks*, *vaidyas* and *rajgurus*. Persons from among them alone were appointed to the posts of commanders. Among these Pants *senapati* Purush Pant was brave and powerful.

Among the Mankoti kings the names of only eight kings are known :

(1) King Karm Chand
(2) King Sital Chand
(3) King Brahm Chand
(4) King Hingul Chand
(5) King Punya Chand
(6) King Ani Chand
(7) King Narayan Chand

The names of other kings are not known. In Janhavi *naula* belonging to 1264 A.D. there is a piece of stone with the names of the Gangoli kings. In it except the name of Somati, nothing else could be deciphered. On the piece of stone of 1352, found in the temple of Baijnath, is written that the kings of Gangoli (Hamirdeo,

Lingarajdeo, Dharaldeo) built the *kalash* of the temple. There itself in the Bhog-Mandir of Gauri Maheshvar it is engraved that in the time of Hamirdeo, Subhadra, the wife of Kalhana Pandit, completed her religious vow. One or two copper plates of these kings have been found but their complete history is not available.

Mankoti kings first became *divan* Upreti and then Pant. Both of these brahmins have come here since the time of the Katyuri kings.

The work of writing in the court of Mankoti kings was done by the *Chaudharis*. They still exist in Gangoli. Since the time of the Katyuri kings they had settled down in Dwarahat.

King Narayan Chand, the last Mankoti king of Gangoli, created great confusion in the kingdom and thus provided an opportunity to Balo Kalyan Chand to invade Gangoli. Kalyan Chand annexed Gangoli to his kingdom.

44. **Not Sira, but Sor**

Balo Kaylan Chand had a keen desire to extend his kingdom upto river Kali. From the peak of the high mountains he looked at Sor, Sira and Askot with his covetous eyes in the same way as Babar had seen the fresh, vast and extensive fields of Hindustan from the mountains on the western boundary of India. The queen of king Kalyan Chand was the daughter of Raika king of Doti and the sister of the Raika king Harimall of that very place. Balo Kalyan Chand asked the queen to demand Sira in dowry but the Mall king said; "The kingdom of Sira is my head, I shall at no cost part with it, but I shall give Sor in dowry". So he did not give Sira, but give Sor in dowry, which Kalyan Chand brought under him. But the subjects of the place turned rebellious. Then the king from Kali Kumaun and Baramandal had colonised Sor with the Belval clan and through them brought it under his full possession.

45. **Conquest of Danpur**

After establishing peace in Sor he defeated the petty Khas kings of Danpur and annexed it to his kingdom. Except petty kings there was not a single big king here. Their nominal leader belonged to the family of Danu whose descendants still reside there. He distributed the land of Danpur among the Rautelas. Except the

crowned kings of the Chand family, its other petty descendants were called Rautela. During wars they were appointed *faujdars* and commanders. They also shared in plundering and killing. They were granted land at places and made petty *zamindars* and by virtue of their belonging to the royal family they became pillars of the Chand kingdom and they helped a lot in the expansion of the influence of the kingdom. After ending his eight years of stormy rule, and extending the size of the Chand kingdom with Almora as its capital, the king went to the other world where all go after death. This happened in *samvat* 1625, *shake* 1490 and 1568 A.D.

46 **(45) King Rudra Chand**

(1568 - 1597 A.D.)

King Rudra Chand ascended the throne in 1568. Then he was quite young. He was under the influence of his *harem* and his *purohits*. As soon as the ascended the throne the news arrived that the governor of Delhi had forfeited Tarai Bhavar. Hearing this news Ramdatt, a priest of Baleshwar, also went to the king and began to say that Mahadeo was saying that he was lying buried under the ground; some one should take him out as on account of this the progress of the kingdom was being hampered. Rudra Chand went to Champavat, got the temple repaired, installed Mahadeo there and fixed a Nali of land for Ramdatt. Since then the story is prevalent",

रुद्रचंद की आली तो रामदत्त की नाली

Mangiri and Nirmalgiri, the descendants of this very Ramdatt, later on came and started living in the temple of Sriganamath and there Pt. Srivallabh Pande appointed him the *mahanth* of that temple. The *samadhi* of Sri Ramdatta has been built near the temple of Baleshvar in Champavat.

47. **Hussain Khan Tukudiya**

Later on the news again came from Tarai that Hussain Khan Tukudiya, the *nawab* of Kath and Gola (Shahjahanpur) had occupied Tarai Bhavar. This *nawab* then was a *subedar* (governor) of Delhi. In 1569 he was also the governor of Lucknow. He was highly cruel. It is said that when he was the governor of Lahore, he one day mistaking a Hindu as a Muslim saluted him. Later on he issued an order that the Hindus should keep tied a piece of cloth to their shoulders so that it might be known that they are Hindus.

Owing to his issuing the order to tie a piece of cloth, he was named Tukudiya. He might have read in Ferishta that the king of Kumaun was very rich, gold was also produced there and maintained an army of 80000 soldiers. He, therefore, sacked and plundered this mountainous region and demolished the temples but during the rains his army got entrapped in difficulties. The mountain people leaving their homes repaired to high mountains and began to shower arrows and pieces of stone from there. Consequently Khan received Kath and Gola (Shahjahanpur) as his fief. In 1575 he raided for the second time, demolished the temple all over and collecting a vast booty he returned to the plains. When emperor Akbar heard the news of his atrocities he ordered him to come to Delhi. He went to Delhi but owing to a bullet injury, he had received during the mountainous warfare, he died there.

48. Recapture of Tarai

After the death of Hussain Khan, king Rudra Chand collected an army and again occupied Tarai and beat away the Muslims from there. When complaints about it reached, *nawab* Kathghar with a huge army made an attack. In comparison to that army that king's army was insignificant. King Rudra Chand put a proposal that in respect of Tarai instead of fight between the two armies only a dual should take place between only two officers, one each from the two sides. The winner would get Tarai. King Rudra Chand himself represented Kumaun and the Mughal commander represented the Mughal army. Such a battle is called 'Ikafa' (dual). Both of them fought. Luckily king Rudra Chand won. It is said that hearing about Rudra Chand's feats of bravery, emperor Akbar summoned him to Lahore. When he reached there, he sent him to the battle of Nagore. In that battle king Rudra Chand and his Kumauni army showed great valiance at which emperor Akbar being pleased granted king Rudra Chand the *firman of Chaurasi Mal* and also the robe of honour. Tarai Bhavar is called *Chaurasi Mal*. It was a piece of 84 *Kos*. He also exempted king Rudra Chand from attendance at the court. "King Rudra Chand also appointed Birbal, the royal minister, as his priest. Till the end of the Chand rule *i.e.* till the tenure of king Dip Chand, the descendants of Birbal came at the time of *shraddh* (*kanagat*) and collected their commission." Maulana Abdul Qadir Badauni writes in his *Tawarikh*, "In 1588 the king of Kumaun came to Lahore via Shiwalik hills. He had an

interview with Emperor. Neither he nor his ancestors (May God devastate them) could ever dare to meet the emperor. He brought a number of unique presents, a Tibeti yak (cow), one musk deer and horses etc. The musk deer died of heat. In his kingdom there are even such men as have wings." Emperor Akbar was pleased at the bravery of the king of Kumaun but it is beyond apprehension why the historians have used such a filthy language. It is written in the *Jahangir Nama* that the son of Raja Todar Mal escorted king Rudra Chand, the father of Laxmi Chand, the king of Kumaun, to the Emperor.

Disturbances have ever been occurring in Tarai Bhavar. Many a time it has been the object of scramble. But among the Chand kings Rudra Chand for the first time made it's permanent arrangement. King Rudra Chand founded the town of Rudrapur and also built his palace and appointed administrators (*lat*) at different places. At present Tarai was densely populated. It is said on returning from Delhi and Tarai the king got anxious to reach Almora within one night. On the way, in darkness, reins broke. Badakariya, the groom of the king caught hold of a snake and taking it to be a rope set the reins right. It was detected in the morning. It was taken to be an auspcious omen. The king rewarded the groom and also fixed for him a *nali* in the village crops. The following certificates of the time of the king are available :

1565 AD in the name of Devidatt Chaudhari

1568 AD in the name of Budhakedar Temple

1575 AD in the name of Anand Pande

1594 A.D. in the name of Pandes of Chami

1596 A.D. in the name of Krishnanand Joshi (Galli)

1596 A.D. in the name of a village in the name of Badrinath Temple.

On return from Delhi king Rudra Chand built in Almora a fort and a palace called Malla Mahal. At present the court and treasury are located there. He vacated the palace built by his father. There temples of Devi and Bhaivav were built. In his time a book entitled *Traivarnik Dharm-Nirnaya* was written in which for only brahmins, religious and social rules and regulations have been laid down and it was also decided among the brahmins that such and

such brahmins shall mutually establish matrimonial relations and none could marry against them. He also set right in a new pattern the posts of brahmins, *gurus*, *purohits*, *dharmadkikaris*, *pauraniks*, *vaidyas*, cooks etc. The Joshis of Selakhola handled the civilian and the military posts. In his region Rantgalis of village Rantgal and the Sahus of Dwarahat also were appointed on the post of clerks. Now the officers have taken the place of Rantgalis. On account of having getting village Rantgali in fief they also are called Rantgalis. They regard themselves as Bhatt brahmins who had come from the plain. In the place of older *sahus*, *chaudhris* were appointed who had come from western Jwalamukhi. They still exist. The commission of both of these *sahus* and *rantgalis* was fixed in every village. When a certain piece of land was given to anyone the king in *gunth*, *mafi*, *jagir* or *raut*, this commission was stopped. In lieu of monthly pay, commission or villages were given, cash payments were not made. In this very way this king managed the army also in an excellent manner.

The king had two princes of whom prince Shakti Singh Gosain was congenitally blind. It is said that he had the power to ascertain the distance between him and the man standing before him when the latter spoke. It is said that in this very way Shakti Singh got measured the whole of the district. The names relating to land settlement, such as—*belaka*, *nali*, *kachh*, *rattti*, *yasa*, *paisa*, *Dugani*, *bisi*, *ali*, *jyula*—occuring in the record were introduced by him. He also set right the boundaries of *pattis* and *parganas*. It is said that for the restoration of his vision he also practised penance in the temple of Jwalamukhi. His vision was not restored but he acquired a good knowledge of land measurement and of other affairs of the state.

49. Conquest of Sira

We have already said that the wife of Balo Kalyan Chand was the sister of Harimall, the king of Sira and the mother of king Rudra Chand. Her husband's desire to annex Sira to the kingdom of Kumaun could not be fulfilled. On this account she did not commit *sati*. She kept repeatedly reminding king Rudra Chand about it. Those days Sirakot was highly inaccessible and that *pargana* was quite verdant and fertile.

A few names of the kings of Sira are known, but not the remaining affairs. These kings belonged to the family of the king of Doti. The names known are given here. Their year is not known :

1. Adhiravat 2. Bhishmravat 3. Bhaktiravat 4. Dhirmall 5. Jagatimall 6. Kurupal 7. Ripumall 8. Bupatimall 9. Bharatimall 10. Datamall 11. Anandmall 12. Rajmall 13. Kalyanmall 14. Jurbanmall. 15. Arjunmall 16. Nagmall 17. Balinarayanmall 18. Dungara Baseda 19. Madansing Baseda 20. Raisingh Baseda 21. Shobhamall 22. Harimall.

Dungara Baseda, a Khas King, had defeated Balinarayanmall and ruled for three generations. Later on Shobhamall beat away the Baseda king and the rule of the Mallas was re-established in Sira.

In the time of Harimall king Rudra Chand, at the head of an army went to fight against Raika king of Sira, but being defeated in the combat returned home. When on the way he sat under a tree, he saw that a spider was weaving its cobweb to catch a fly but it again and again broke. In the seventh attempt it was ready and flies started being entrapped in it. He thought that if an insect could complete its work in that way, why not he. Thinking so he came to Almora and along with his state functionaries began to think of plans for conquering Sira. The functionaries said, "Without the intervention of a spy the performance of this work is difficult". These days Purushottam *alias* Purush Pant, the son of the sister of Bichhural Brahman, an employee of the Raika king lives in Gangoli, he is a brave and experienced man. Appointing him the commander we should fight against Sira. Then the king summoned Purush Pant. Purush Pant made excuse and did not come to the court. At this the king despatched to him a royal-letter full of fiery words that it was owing to his pride of the posseession of huge wealth in the time of the Mankoti king that he disobeyed the royal order. The king wrote that a fine of Rs. one lac was being imposed on him which he should immediately pay and also present himself at the court, if he failed to come he could be more severely punished. Purush Pant, the commander and *divan* of the Mankoti kings, possessed huge wealth. Purush Pant on receiving the royal order came to the royal court of Almora in the guise of a poor brahmin and said, "I have no wealth, this life and body are ready, if they can serve any purpose, I offer both to you". The king said, "I do not need your life". Then Purush Pant said, "If you order in lieu of the fine of Rs one lakh I may sacrifice my body in conquering Sirakot and Badhankot and annexing them to the kingdom of Kumaun." The king desired this very thing. He accepted the

proposal of Purush Pant. Appointing him the commander of his army, king Rudra Chand attacked Harimall, the Raika king of Sira. A battle was fought at Sirakot. King Rudra Chand and his army was defeated thrice. Third time the army of the Raika king pursued king Rudra Chand to a distance, on account of which the king was tracked to one side and Purush Pant to the other. Purush Pant while sitting at a place in the forest saw that a beetle was going, taking a ball of cowdung, but owing to the elevation of the ground the ball repeatedly slipped away from its claws and fell down. It continued its attempts and at last succeeded in his fifth attempt. Seeing this spectacle Purush Pant got ready to fight again, but he was hungry. He went to the house of an old Brahmani and asked for *khir* to eat. The old woman served him *khir* to eat on a banana leaf. Purush Pant started eating *khir* from the middle of the leaf. So the *khir* on the sides started falling on the ground. Then the old lady said, "My son ! You don't know how to eat *khir* just as Purush Pant does not know how to win Sirakot.

"त्वील नी खैजाण खीर, पुरुष पंत लैनी ली सकि सीर"

Both of you are dullards. Then Purush Pant not disclosing his identity asked the old lady how he should eat the *khir* and how Purush Pant should conquer Sirakot. In respect of eating *khir* the old lady said that it should be eaten from all the four sides and Purush Pant by posting his army at the mouth of the tunnel of water leading to Sirakot, should stop the supply of water to the kot and also the supply of food material from the side of Johar, then and then only the fort would be conquered. Otherwise, till the supply of food and water into the inaccessible fort continued, it was not an easy job to conquer that fort. Purush Pant after eating the *khir* from the sides went near the army and deputed his brother to stop the supply of water and food materials. His brother posted a part of the army on the path (*ghat*) of the water. The name of that place is Chhampata. Later on he via Gangoli Pungraun reached the region of Talladesh Johar. He after recruiting the people of that place such as Rana, Mahata, Hokari, Chuphal and Bhaiskoti in his army stationed himself at Daunik and Bamangada to stop the supply of food. Thus, the supply of water and grain both was stopped. The battle started. Owing to the non-availability of water and food materials the residents of the fort got very much perturbed. Purush Pant along with his army entered into the fort. Raika king Harimall being defeated left the fort and went to Doti on the other side of river Kali.

Later on seeing the people of Sira disloyal, king Rudra Chand inhabited in Sira, Chaugarkha, Baramandal, *zamindar* Dasila of Manasari, Bhaisoda, Malada, Mansara, Chilal etc. Appointing his own administrator in Sirakot he annexed the rest of the whole region to his kingdom. Descendants of king Harimall still reside in Doti.

The influence and extent of the kingdom of this Mall king is said to be very great. Its boundary extended from Nepal to the end of Garhwal. In his memory a trident stands pitched on the ground in Barahat on which it is inscribed that king Anikmall after conquering this region has pitched this trident as a mark of his victory.

Mall and Raika were identical. The prince was called Mall but when he ascended the throne the word Raika also was added to Mall. When the Mall kings went to Doti a number of their kinsmen also went with them to the other side of Kali. The older employees and officers of these kings were *bhatt* and *kathait*. Later on *bayals* were appointed their managers (agents) and they stood by them to the last.

Askot, Darma and Johar also were under king Harimall. After the conquest of Sirakot, they also came under the authority of the king of Kumaun. King Rudra Chand went to Askot and appointed the former feudatory king of that place i.e. Rajvar in his kingdom and established relationship with him. For honour and maintenance gave him the *pargana* of Askot as *zamindari*. Relationship with the Rajvars of Askot with Chands has continued to be established. The king of this family who ascends the throne is called Rajvar, the prince is called Lala and their brothers Gusain.

After this king Rudra Chand returned to Almora and ordered Purush Pant to come to Almora after making full and permanant arrangement of the conquered region and then according to his promise should conquer Badhangarh from Garhwal and annex it to the kingdom of Kumaun.

Guru Gusain, a prince of the Askot family, who was an experienced and worthy man, was appointed the settlement officer of Darma and Johar. Vyans and Chaudans were still under the jurisdiction of the kingdom of Jumala.

50. Publicity of Sanskrit Learning

On returning to Almora, the king donated villages in *gunth* to the temples of gods. He built the temple of Shiva named Vridhakedar between Bino and Ramganga. He donated land to the learned, which encouraged other brahmins also to study. The king himself was a great scholar and spent money also on the promotion of education. Granting them scholarships he sent a number of promising youths to Banaras. They returned after completing their studies. The king honoured them. People received knowledge from the brahmins in Kumaun. In Almora itself this king provided facilities for the study of Sanskrit. At that time there were present such Sanskrit scholars in the royal court as were regarded in no way inferior to the scholars of Banaras and Kashmir. Often it so happened that scholars from the plains came here and in debates held in the royal court got defeated by the Kumauni scholars. The king himself has composed two Sanskrit works : 1. *Shyen Shastra* and 2. *Traivarnik Dharm-Nirnay*.

51. Attack on Badhangarh

On getting royal orders Purush Pant taking an army attacked the *pargana* of Badhan. Dularai Shah, the king of Garhwal, knew about this from before. He sent a huge army to oppose him and also discussed with Sakaldeo, the last feudatory king of Kumaun, that if he helped Garhwal, he would be helped against the Chand kings. Not only this, but also some part of the kingdom of the Chands would be conquered and given to him. King Sakaldeo agreed on these terms. When Purush Pant at the end of Katyur reached Garhwal, Sukaldeo stopped the supply of war-equipments and food-materials to the army of the Garhwali king which he had lodged with him, asked it to attack Purush Pant. The Garhwali army fought against Purush pant. The spear (*bhutiya*) thrown at him by Padyar pierced the body of Purush Pant which resulted in his death. Later on the Padyars cut off Purush Pant's head and transmitted it, stage by stage, *(chatti chatti)* to the king of Garhwal and at the places of their night halts, villages were given in fief to the Padyars as the king of Garhwal had already announced that whosoever would cut off the head of Purush Pant and take it to him, would get villages as fief at the places of their halt.

The second story goes that when Purush Pant had returned after conquering Badhan he camped at Gangolghat near Gagar Gol. At night a Padyar chopped off his head and transmitted it to the king of Garhwal.

As soon as this news reached the king, he immediately summoned his counsellors and himself went along with his army and nabbed Sukaldeo. Along with him his children, many soldiers and Katyuri subjects were captured and brought to Almora. At that time Ratu Bora of Baurarau, who was a friend of Sukaldeo, stood as his surety and said that the king without being dishonoured should be immediately let off and he promised that within six months he would either present Sukaldeo before him or pay 19000 *takas* (Rs. 9500/-) or produce 240 bonded labourers (*banban*). On these terms, king Rudra Chand set king Sukaldeo free and enstrusted him to Ratu. After feeding Sukaldeo sumptuously Ratu escorted him to Katyur and himself came home. After six months, king Rudra Chand wrote to Ratu that according to the agreement he should present before him any one of the three things. Ratu taking the letter of the king went to Katyur and conveyed the order to Sukaldeo. Sukaldeo said that from the three things mentioned in the agreement, he might take away any thing, he deemed right, otherwise the king would be displeased. At this Ratu asked king Sukaldeo if he would carry on the government of Katyur by his wisdom, he should rather summon the juries and hold a meeting and also call him to attend it and after reading the letter tell Ratu whether he ate poison or drowned himself in a river he would not give him any thing. Later on the Katyuris decided to do the same. Ratu wrote to king Rudra Chand about all these things. The king had already received the information about all these things, but he wrote to Ratu that he should fulfil his promise. Raut said that he was unable to fulfil it. If king Rudra Chand would insist on the fulfilment of the agreement he would sit on picket. So he took away his daughter from his house saying that he would kill her either in the presence of the king or in a temple. He hid her in the way to Baijnath and made an effigy with *kush* grass and saturating it with the blood of a goat burnt it and declared that he had sacrificed his daughter for king Rudra Chand and himself after consuming meat and cooked rice lay down in his house. The correct news about this also reached the royal court in Almora that the daughter was fully

alive and Ratu had practised fraud. Then king Rudra Chand sent his soldiers to capture Ratu along with his daughter. Ratu fled to Katyur and instigated Sukaldeo to fight against king Rudra Chand. King Rudra Chand along with his army himself went to Katyur, killed both Sukaldeo and Ratu and annexed Katyur to his kingdom.

King Rudra Chand ruled for 29 years and died in *samvat* 1654 *sake* 1519, 1597, A.D. Prince Laxmi Chand ascended the throne.

From the above account it is gathered that this king was a great scholar and lover of learning and the most powerful, brave and benevolent among the Chands. He was himself a scholar and honoured the scholars. He also extended his kingdom. He fulfilled the vow of his parents by conquering Siragarh, His mother on the conquest of Siragarh burnt herself at Jageshvar along with the dagger of her husband. He also got honours from the Emperor of Delhi. Some say that in Tarai his kingdom extended to Laldhang, Badhapur and Nagina.

Sri Purushottam was a Pant of Garaun in Gangoli. His descendants still are in possession of the copper plate which king Rudra Chand had donated in the temple of Jageshvar the 9th day of *bhadrasudi* i.e. on Saturday 1581 A.D. (*samvat* 1648). Its substance is as follows :

1. "He earned fame by conquering territories of such enemies as paled at his prowess. He was a true devotee of Goddess, a jewel among the kings of the world. His name was Kalyan Chand.

2. By the sharp edge of his sword, the heads of powerful kings fell asunder at which their queens shed tears which like pearls fell in their laps.

3. His lotus - like feet were pure. Hearts of the people were attached to him on account of which the poor without resorting to beggary, grew rich.

4. His son was famous Rudra Chand who humiliated the enemies and was devotee of Lord Shiva with whose grace victory at Sirakot was achieved. This king has donated this land in *raut*.

5. Who conquered land for the extension of kingdom, who is the best among our ministers, humiliated the king of Doti, defeated the enemies, is the greatest scholar and the best among the people."

52 **(46) King Laxmi Chand**
(1597 - 1621 A.D.)

After king Rudra Chand, Laxmi Chand ascended the throne. Though being the eldest son, prince Shakti Singh Gusain was the successor to the king yet, as king Dhritarashtra, though the eldest, did not ascend the throne, so Shakti Gusain vacated the throne in favour of his younger brother Laxmi Chand. Even though blind, Shakti Singh took sufficient part in the affairs of the state. He was a man of religious temperament. He undertook a number of pilgrimages. He spent much of his time in silent muttering of prayers (*jap*), religious austerity (*tap*), in offering burnt oblations (*hom*), religious sacrifices (*yajyan*) and worship of gods in the hope that the gods might return his vision, but the vision was not returned, but his understanding increased much. He had attained the power to know everything by hearing or touching a thing.

So king Laxmi Chand asked him to look after the management of the state as well as the court. Sakti Gusain established the office of land measurement, fixed land cess and named as Jyula, Sirati, Baikar, Rachha, Kat, Bhat etc. The place where the equipments (*saranjam*) for auspicious days (*parabi*) such as *ghee kar*, Khirachi, Galla were kept was named Ganj. The place of keeping Sirati, Masik, Rachhya, Tika and expenses for auspicious days and the revenue was named Bhandar. Courts named Nyuovali (civil court) and Vishtali (military courts) were established. The place for keeping clothes, dryfruits and presents etc. was named *Koryal.* The house where royal clothes, wooden sandals, shoes, shawls, clothes of *jari* (cloth woven with gold -thread), things relating to robe of honour and the personal armours were kept was named *Sejval.* The officer in charge of *Sejval* was called *sejyali.* For keeping Dhanyu, *tunan*, *kan*, sword, katar, *peshkabja*, gun, *ramchangi*, *jumbura* etc. built *selakhana.* For keeping *barud, sora, gandhak, mahatab* etc., built *darughar.* The goats called Lakha, Boka and Hilwan were kept in *shikar.*

The place where cows and buffaloes lived was called *thath.* The incharge was *thathval.* From these *thaths* fresh curd, milk and butter were supplied to the court. The buffaloes (*jatiya*) purchased for offering to the deities were entrusted to the enclosure (*bade*). The

kardars of the time of king Rudra Chand were as usual left to continue on their posts to carry on the work of the state. He divided the *kamdars* of state into three classes : (*i*) *Sardars* (chieftains) who held high posts in the state and ruled over parganas and districts, (*ii*) *Faujdars-* They were commanding officers, (*iii*) *Negis-* subordinate employees of the state and worked in military and civil administrative departments (*neg* means commission meant for the king).

Shakti Gosain greatly promoted cultivation also. At a number of places he made the land fit for cultivation. Summoning farmers from different places appointed workers (*bunkare*) for himself. He planted seven gardens (*badi*) for vegetables, flowers and fruits so that from them on each day (*var*) one thing might be available. Gardens at Narisinghbadi, Badi Pandekhola, Kapina, Laxmeshvar etc. were planted in the time of king Laxmi Chand. In the summer to fetch snow from Pindari all along the road *kamdars* (agents) named *hyupal* were posted who passed on snow hand to hand and fresh snow was available daily in Almora.

At the time of the recruitment of soldiers for the army arrangements were also made for conducting the examination. Valiant warriors and old soldiers in lieu of cash payment were granted land and fiefs on the condition that when the enemies would invade the country these reservists would be summoned and they would immediately come. *Tajvij* of the army was fixed and named *bisi bandook*. Such an arrangement was made by Shakti Gusain.

Later on the king built a temple of Mahadeo at Almora and named it Laxmeshvar. Later on a tea-garden was also planted there (A few days back it was renovated by Pt. Jwaladatt Joshi) In Katyur on the confluence of Saryu and Gomati be built the temple of Mahadeo from the very beginning which still exists. While building the temple the king for one year stayed on a small *tibari* situated above the other side of Gomati in Bageshwar. At intervals he kept coming to Almora also. He greatly loved Bageshvar. One day when the king had encamped at Satrali near Ambikeshvar Mahadeo, he saw that all the brahmins of Satrali were growing vegetables by spreading earth in the roofs of their houses. The king asked, what type of mockery these brahmins had performed ? The people of Satrali also had come there. They said, "O king ! you have levied too

much (unlimited) land–tax on us. We are so oppressed as in the days of the last Katyuri kings. Therefore, we have not cultivated the land. Kindly donate this land to Bageshwar so that the tax be not demanded from us. There being no money in our houses we have sown vegetables on our roofs. We beg food to eat from elsewhere. If you intend to levy taxes on houses also, then we shall leave them also." Hearing the humourous but logical statements of the people of Satrali, king Laxmi Chand got ashamed and laughed. He immediately excused the present revenue and maintained the former revenue. Then the brahmins there started cultivating the land.

This king invaded Garhwal seven times and was defeated all the times. On account of his defeat people named the fort, from which he fought, as Syalbunga. On his defeat for the seventh time, the king was so much frightened that he came to Almora in a palanquin (*doka*). Rags were spread over it so that none might suspect that in it the king sat or something was kept. To carry the *doka* pulpy farmers were selected by bidding, then he anyhow could reach Almora. On account of this people named the king as *Lakhuli Birali*. Whenever the palanquin bearers placed the *doka* of the king in the way and talked among themselves, they said,

"पापी राजु आपु लै चोरे कि चार भाजनौछ, हमन लै दुःख दीनौछ"

(This king is a sinner and libertine, he himself is fleeing as a thief and also torturing us.) The fugitive king heard their talks. This stuck into his heart.

When the king came to Almora he asked the *guru* (spiritual guide) to keep his *gurumantra* (spiritual advice) with him as he could gain nothing from the war. He also said that in future giving up the state-affairs, he would become a recluse. Seeing his livelihood at a stake he was really perplexed and asked the king to wait for a year and himself to perfect himself in the *gurumantra* went to a town of Bengal named Nadiya which was a great seat of Sanskrit learning and studies of mythical formula, the scholars of where were well known and are still so. The *guru* spent one year there in perfecting the power of magic. On his return he whispered the *mantra* to Laxmi Chand in the prescribed manner and got it muttered. In this way the king well equipped with *mantras* and *tantras* and getting his *guru's* permission decided to go to the battle

field with a view to pleasing and bringing the gods also under his full control. He built in 1602 temples of Laxminarayan both at Jageshvar and Almora and donated the villages as *gunth* to Jageshvar. The eighth time also he first worshipped gods and goddesses in Bageshvar and then proceeded to conquer Garhwal.

Though he could not achieve a victory worth the name, yet this time he by plundering the country collected some wealth. Pleased at this he returned to Almora. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "This king, to convey the news of the conquest of Garhwal to Almora, had raised piles of dry grass and wood on the peaks of the mountain so that as soon as the region of Garhwal is conquered, fire will be set to those piles and so the news may soon reach Almora. It was done accordingly at the time of victory. Since then on the day of *ashvin sankranti* at evening boys making an effigy of a man with grass and studding flower etc. to it, set fire to it and sing, dance and jump.

भैल्लो जी भैल्लो, भैल्लो खतड़ुवा।
गैड़ा की जीत, खतड़ की हार ;
गैड़ा पड़ो श्योल, खतड़ पड़ो भ्योल।

This celebration is called *khaṭduva*. Gaida was the military commander of the king of Kumaun. It is said that Khatada Singh was the military commander of Garhwal. The latter was killed in the battle. 'Victory to Gaida' might mean 'victory of military commander Gaida' but some people pronounce it also as 'victory of gai'. The cow was the royal emblem of the Chand kings of Kumaun on their coins, *muhars* and flags so the 'victory of cow' might mean victory of the king or victory of the flag having the emblem of cow. In the times of both Rudra Chand and Laxmi Chand no victory worth the name had taken place. After several defeats in boundary disputes at the end once or twice the kings of Kumaun had been somewhat victorious but to celebrate it with such a great pomp and show, that it became a native festival, does not appeal to reason. Yet the old historians have not mentioned as to what type of victory was achieved. So it is difficult to throw more light on it than this.

53. Aggi-pariksha or Ordeal of Fire

Pt. Rudradatt writes, "In the time of this king a suit was filed thus : A certain man inducted another man for the offence of

cow–killing. The offender said that a tiger killed a calf not he. There was lot of discussion and debate but without an ordeal no decision could be arrived at. The ordeal was fixed. The offender accepted the ordeal on the term that if the tiger had killed the calf, he was clean, if not, he was unclean. The ordeal was miscarried, yet the offender again and again said that he was truthful. Some thing might have been done offensive in the ordeal. Thrice the ordeal was miscarried. On the fourth time the brahmins thought that the man who accepted ordeal says that he is truthful but does not win the ordeal. Perhaps the *bunda* 'Lekha' might have gone wrong. Seeing the *bunda*, people said that every thing else is right but in the ordeal tiger has always been written, this time write 'tigress'. So on this fourth time tigress was written in the *bunda*, then in the ordeal the man betting the ordeal was declared truthful. The king punished the accuser. It was proved that the calf had been killed by a tigress."

The king got the settlement of Darma Ghata made afresh from the very beginning between him and the Huniyas. He settled the terms of *sirati* and state–taxes between him and the Huniyas and also fixed the time for the realisation of taxes. The signs of boundary also were fixed.

King Laxmi Chand went to the court of Jahangir. It is written in the, *Jahangir Nama*. "Laxmi Chand, the king of Kumaun wanted to come to the imperial court like his father. He wrote that the son of *nawab* Itmad-ud-daula should come to receive him and present him in the court. To fulfil his desire Shahpur was deputed to escort him to the royal court. This mountainous king brought a number of mountainous presents as a gift for me. Among these were a number of fine mountainous horses called *gunth*. There were also many hawks, *shikare* (a kind of hawk), innumerable musk navels and the hide of a musk deer in which navel was present. He also gave me swords of many types including swords, daggers, and *khukhadis*. This king is the richest among all the mountainous kings. Gold mines also are said to exist in his kingdom." It is also said that during the period of his rule emperor Jahangir came to Tarai on a hunting expedition and stayed in between Tanda and Pipal Hata. The garden of trees lying there is called Imperial Garden. It was planted at that very time.

There are a number of *gunths* of the time of this king. In 1602 a village was donated to Jageshvar and eight deeds of gifts also exist

in the name of Bageshvar. There is a copper-plate of 1605 in the name of Devidatt Chaudhari and also another in the family of a minister named Vasudeo Pant. In 1616 he donated a copper-plate in the name of Mahadeo Joshi. He had four sons : Dilip Chand, Vimal Chand, Narayan Chand and Nilagusain.

When king Laxmi Chand after ruling for 24 years died in *samvat* 1678, *shake* 1543, 1621 A.D. his son prince Dilip Chand ascended the throne.

54 **(47) Raja Dilip Chand**

(1621–1624 A.D.)

On the death of king Laxmi Chand prince Dilip Chand became the king. He ruled for three years only. As written earlier that between Pants and Upretis of Gangoli wranglings continued from the very time of the Mankoti kings. In his reign a fierce battle ensued between the Pants and the Upretis. The property of the Upretris also had been given to the Pants. It is said that on account of this a certain Upreti set out on a pilgrimage. From Almora he went to Jwalamukhi. From there to Dwarika, from Dwarika visiting Lanka, Rameshvar, Jagannath and Banaras he came to Prayagraj. Coming to Prayag and taking *karvat* (jumping from a tree) he died and people say that at the time of his death he asked a boon that in his second birth, he might be able to take revenge and oppress the Pants. It is said that whosoever observed *karot* or *karvat i.e.* by jumping from a tree or commiting suicide caused death by drowning himself in the Ganga at Prayag or Banaras, be got all his desires fulfilled in his second birth. King Dilip Chand as soon as he ascended the throne, started harassing the Pants. Then the Pant said that the Upreti, who took *karvat*, is reborn as Dilip Chand, as he got Jaintram Pant, the leader of Pants, who was plundering the villages of the Upretis captured, brought to him, killed in his presence and consigned the body to flames at a place towards the west of Malla Mahal, where now exists the temple of Ulkadevi.

It is said that the smoke of the pyre reached the palace and affected the king like a poison. The king got so such restless that on the seventh day he died of T.B. Pt. Rudradatt Pant says that Jainta Pant was innocent, but according to Atkinson he was caught

plundering the villages of Upretis. The king had informed both the Pants and the Upretis that whosoever created disturbance would be severely dealt with.

The saying "बिना पंत को चालौ नैं" was composed by the Upretis. It was on this account that the king had deprived his minister Vasudeo Pant of his right to govern the kingdom. The Pants spread the rumour that the king was the incarnation of the Upreti, his spirit has possessed him. Being jealous at these words he very much suppressed the Pants. Further his advisers were Shakram Karki and Piru Gusain. They are said to be intriguers and crafty politicians. Piru Gusain was more favourite. It was he who excited the king to indulge in more oppressions. He is the same Piru Gusain who was once the settlement officer of Sor. Selecting a good site there he had built a fort there which even today is well-known as Pithoragarh. After ruling for three years the king died of T.B. in 1634 A.D. (*samvat* 1681) Prince Vijay Chand became the king. It is said that king Laxmi Chand had twentyone issues more whose descendants are settled down here and there in Kumaun.

55 **(48) King Vijay Chand**

(1624–1625 A.D.)

When king Vijay Chand ascended the throne, he was quite young. All the royal powers lay in hands of Shakram Karki and Piru Gusain. Vinayak Bhatt of Sor also joined them. It is said that he did what he wanted. They kept the king under their control. The marriage of this king was performed with the daughter of the king of Badagujar of Anupshahar. He was a lover of sexual pleasure and in addition the three had practically confined him in the *harem*. It is said that there he remained engrossed in prostitution, wine and merry-making. Prince Nila Gusain objected to king's confinement like this in the *harem* keeping him away from the duties of the state. His eyes were pulled out. Not only this but other Gusains and Rautelas that were caught were all killed, so that there might be left no claimant to the kingdom and the trio did what they wanted. When the princes began to be killed, only two princes of king Laxmi Chand survived–1. Trimal Chand 2. Narayan Chand. Out of them the former fled to Garhwal and the second to Doti. A royal maid servant wrapping in a piece of cloth blind Nila Gusain's son nick

named 'Baja Baja' who later on became a well known king named Bajbahadur Chand, entrusted him to the wife of her family priest Dharmakar Tewari of Chausar. She kept him concealed with her. There he was being brought up. Poor prince Nila Gusain died.

This king set up a door in the Malla Mahal. This thing also offended all his three favourite officers. They decided to kill the king and enthroning some other Rautela as their puppet carried on the administration of the kingdom. There was a royal maid servant known to Shakram Karki. In conspiracy with her, Shakram fixed a time for killing the king. The royal maid servant said "When the king finishes his meal I shall in loud voice, ask Tatariya to bring hot water for washing the hands, and then you coming in, finish your work." Shakram agreed. The king ate his meals and went all alone to a separate room to wash his hands. As soon as the royal maid servant called out Tatariya to bring hot water, Shakram entered inside and throttled to death the poor and innocent king. It is said that the king was under the intoxicating influence of *bhang* This happened in *samvat* 1682 *i.e.* 1625 A.D. People say that in this conspiracy the *daroga* of the kitchen was also a party. Shakram floated this news that the king had died his natural death, but how long could the truth remain concealed. On knowing the actuality, the Brahmins, Rautelas, Kardars and the people of both Mahar and Faratyal factions became alert. The people of Fartyal faction went to Malas (Nepal) where prince Narayan Chand was hiding himself. They decided to make him the king. But the people of the Mahar faction to bring prince Trimal Chand went towards Garhwal. The people of Faratyal faction made prince Narayan Chand the king. On this side the Mahar faction decided to make prince Vimal Chand the king. Both of them set out but men of Mahar faction along with Vimal Chand reached Almora earlier. When prince Vimal Chand had fled to Garhwal, its king told him that if he agreed to fix river Ramganga as the border between Garhwal and Kumaun, he with the help of his army and at his own cost, would oust Vijay Chand from the kingdom and make him the king. King Trimal Chand in consultation with his companions (among whom were the Joshis of Jhijhad and Galli who had fled along with him) decided not to accept terms of the Garhwali king. Joshi of Galli, who was also the astrologer, said that in his horoscope there was the combination of planets forecasting kingship. Joshi of Jhijhad

said that if according to the agreement Ramganga is presently fixed as the border then when he would become the king, he would receive a bit reduce kingdom. After this prince Trimal Chand went towards Badapur and started recruiting soldiers. Here Shakram Karki killed the king. Accidently, the people of Mahar faction along with Trimal Chand reached Almora earlier. But it was *bhadra* so the occassion for coronation was said to be not auspicious. Astrologers said that ascending the throne after *bhadra* would be better. But the politicians thinking that in the meantime king Narayan Chand might come and ascend the throne and thereby putting all their efforts, ruined, even during *bhadra* placed Trimal Chand on the throne and started singing, playing on instruments, dancing, giving charities and all the actions of coronation and made a proclamation as well that since that day king Trimal Chand had become the king of Kumaun. In the meantime the people of Fartyal faction who along with Narayan Chand had come to a place a bit above river Suyal, heard the sound of rejoicings at the announcement of Trimal Chand as the king. At that very moment Narayan Chand again returned to the forest of Doti. Those who made him king were declared disloyal. Some of them fled away but some who were captured were later on set free by the king. This prince Trimal Chand, son of king Laxmi Chand, ascended the throne of Kumaun in *samvat* 1682, *shake* 1547 *i.e.* 1625 A.D.

56 **(49) King Trimal Chand**

(1625–1638 A.D.)

King Trimal Chand, as soon as he ascended the throne, got Shakram Karki killed and the eyes of Vinayak Bhatt extracted and handed over their land and property to his teacher Sri Madhav Pande. He let Piru Gusain go to Prayag with condition that he going near Akshayavat would commit suicide. It was done so because as it is said that king Trimal Chand had written letters from Garhwal to Piru Gusain that if he got king Vijay Chand killed and appointed him the king, he would invest him with all the powers of the state. The king sent a man and procured all the letters from Prayag as the king might have thought that if these letters came into others' possession, then people would call him and his descendants as sinful and treacherous. It is said that after returning these letters

to the king, Piru Gusain drank melted gold as the only expiation for his sin and thus committed suicide.

As all the three persons (i) Shakram Karki (ii) Vinayak Bhatt and (iii) Piru Gusain, were connected with the conspiracy of killing king Vijay Chand brutally and which had also the tacit consent of king Trimal Chand so he with the following points in view, first, to gain public opinion, secondly, to prove his innocense and thirdly, to give future warning to sinful officers so that they might not indulge in acts of treachery, got all of them killed.

This king administered his kingdom according to the arrangements made by his father, king Laxmi Chand. Pt. Narottam Joshi of Jhijhad was appointed *wazir* as well as incharge of *kalamdan*. Sri Vitthal Gusain was appointed *divan*. Sahu and Rantgali retained the appointment as writer. Four separate offices were established. Shri Dinkar Joshi of Galli was appointed writer (or *lekhvar*) of the brahmins. Atkinson says that Dinkar Joshi was appointed as the *Chaudhari* (headman) of the brahmins. As the brahmins have no *Chaudhari*, so writer is appointed. Joshis of Galli were renowned astrologers since the days of the Katyuris. They first lived in Mauja Sedu.

About 1630 A.D. Khasa king Pira Sammal collecting Lulas and Khasas rose in rebellion in Patti Chabbis Damaula situated between Chhakhata and Dhyanirau. The king sent the army, there was a bloody encounter. King Trimal Chand himself went there with his army and killed Pira Sammal and his associates.

57. Daroga of Kitchen

The *daroga* (incharge) of kitchen and the royal maid servants had jointly killed king Vijay Chand. So king Trimal Chand feared that possibly they might also kill him in the same way. He summoned all the officers and said that such efforts be made as royal maid-servants and the *daroga* of kitchen might not hatch a conspiracy (*chala*), so an honest and abstemious person should be appointed as the *daroga* of kitchen. Then they said, only the family of *sardar* Nilu Kathayat can serve the king so loyally. That chivalrous Kathayat even sustained his loss, he did not kill king Garuda Gyan Chand who was in his clutches. When searches were made a person named Sri Karna Kathayat of the family of Sri Nilu Kathayat

was traced out. He was appointed the *daroga* of the kitchen. Later on for four generations the *darogaship* remained in the family of this very Karna Kathayat. Karna Kathayat's son was Lal Singh, his son Guja, his son Ram Singh and his son was Dharm Singh.

58. **Rules Regarding the Kitchen**

1. He should see that the cook prepares the food well.
2. He should have no relation with the Mahar–Fartyals.
3. He should report to the king whatever he hears or sees.
4. He should not tell a lie.
5. He should not convey outside whatever he sees or hears in the palace.
6. Before the king eats, he should taste the food.
7. He should keep rebuking the servants at all times so that none might be inattentive and should exercise strict watch over the kitchen.
8. He should neither allow the cook to move out of his sight nor allow him to remain all alone in the kitchen.
9. Except the personal valets none should be allowed to do anything in respect of king's meals.
10. These valets should not be allowed to do any other work.
11. They should neither talk of poison, *bhang*, opium, arsenic nor allow any one to touch it.
12. Attend the court on the appointed time, not always.
13. Should be near the king when he takes him meals. Always show respect. Should not show intimacy. Keep looking at the face of the king and understand the signs as to what the king wants.
14. He should neither talk to the people of Kali Kumaun and Sor or the people of the Katyuri family nor to the princes of the Chand family nor go to their houses. He should not even go such people as Kali Kumaunis, Manrals, Rautelas, Sokhals and Nagarkotiyas etc. even in their illness or condolence.

15. Should respectfully address the ladies of the *harem*; rather address maid servants as mothers and sisters. He should not talk ill and when there is a need of going to harem should go with his eyes downcast and speak in low voice.
16. Should not talk of magic, witch-craft and incantations because they are used in evil work. Should never have himself nor pare his nails, inside the palace, should not talk to outsiders from the projecting caves in a house, in a loud voice.

59. **Rules for the Royal Maid Servants**

1. Never to go outside the court. 2. Not to talk either to any servant or an officer. Besides, to remove the doubts in the mind of the local factions, a variety of royal maid-servants were procured from district Garhwal and appointed in the court.

Reverend Oakley in his *Holy Himalaya* writes that these rules surpass even the rules of the Tsars of Russia. A petty king of Kumaun needed greater self-protection than the Tsars of Russia.

King Trimal Chand donated some land to the temple of Kedarnath. Nothing else is known about him.

60. **Prince Baj Gusain alias Bajbahadur Chand**

The king had no son. Many Chands were killed in the bloody battles in the time of Vijay Chand and some had fled away. So, king Trimal Chand made a search for his successor. People told him that the wife of Sri Dharmakar Tewari had brought up Baj *alias* Baj Gusain, the son of Nil Gusain. So some men were sent to bring him from there but this wife of Tewari smelling a rat denied the presence of the boy in her house. Then the king himself went there. That pious and chaste lady asked the king to give his word of honour and compelled him to take an oath that he would appoint him as prince and not kill him. Then the king in every way consoling her granted her amnesty. Then the wife of that Tewari priest handed over Baj Gusain to the king. The king took him to his palace and appointed him to the post of prince. There are a number of stories about this prince Baj Gusain. Some say when Prince Nil Gusain was blinded, this boy was concealed in the house of a priest. Some say that a favourite *khawasan* (personal attendant) of the

queen in an angry mood threw him down whence a woman of Chausar found him and brought him up. The third hearsay is that he was the son of a Tewari of Chausar, but it is false. The first story is said to be true. He was appointed prince with great pomp and show. The king took him to the royal court and addressed him as prince and seating him on the royal throne by his side said, "My son, you will be the king after me". Since then he came to be called prince Baj Chand and attending the court began to learn about the affairs of the State.

King Trimal Chand after ruling for 13 years died in *samvat* 1695 *i.e.* 1638 A.D. Prince Baj Chand became the king.

61. **(50) King Baz Bahadur Chand**

(1638–1678 A.D.)

On the death of king Trimal Chand in 1638 A.D. prince Baz Chand became the king. Then Tarai Bhavar was highly prosperous. It actually yielded a revenue of 9 lacs. But since the time of Laxmi Chand, the Chands were engaged in domestic quarrels. They killed one another and there was distrust among them. So they could not pay their attention to Terai. There the Hindu chiefs of Kather had grabbed major part of their kingdom of Mal and so Baz went to the court of emperor Shahjahan to lodge a complaint. He took with him a large number of presents such as-chauri cow, musk deer, musk whisk, zedoary (a kind of grass which is an antidote to poison), a string of several tassels suspended from an elephant's neck, horses, swords, scimitars, elephants and utensils of gold and silver etc. He presented these things to the emperor and told him the story of tyranny of the Kathedias. The Emperor told him that the war was waging so he should also join it and when it was won, the Mal, the region of Tarai, would be given to him. At that time, *i.e.* in 1654-55 A.D. an army was being sent to Garhwal. He also was sent there. In the battle of Garhwal he showed his valiance for which the title of *Bahadur* was granted to him. Some say he was also granted the title of *Maharajadhiraj*. He was also allowed to beat drum.

A robe of honour studded with jewels was also given to him. But he had gone there with the purpose of establishing his full authority over Tarai, what was the use of these empty titles for him.

He got a *firman* in which he was called the *zamindar* of Tarai. *Subedar Nawab* Rustam Khan who had peopled Moradabad helped king Baz Bahadur Chand and again the Tarai came under the authority of the Kumaun king. *Nawab* Khalilulla Khan also helped him. Rustam Khan came to the region of Kathed, read out the order of the emperor to the Kathedias. He disbanded their army and thus full authority of king Baz Bahadur Chand was re-established in Tarai.

King Baz Bahadur Chand appointed *karindas* (agents) in Tarai and also founded a town named Bazpur which still exists.

62. **Aurangzeb's threat**

When Aurangzeb decided to ascend the throne after killing his brothers, prince Sulaiman Sikoh, son of Dara Shikoh, fled to Kumaun and begged shelter from Baz Bahadur Chand. The king first warmly entertained him but later on finding him against the emperor gave him many presents and wealth and sent him to Garhwal. Aurangzeb at once sent his army and threatened the king of Kumaun that if he did not surrender prince Suailman to him, the whole of Tarai would be seized and Kumaun desolated. Then the king was in Tarai. Hedi a night guard of the king, at his command stole away at night the shawl, dagger and turban from the sleeping chamber of the Muslim commander. The king sent those clothes to the emperor and also wrote a letter that had he desired he would have killed the imperial commander in the same way as he had procured those clothes but he had not done so, the prince was not with him. This letter did reach or not emperor Aurangzeb, but in the mean time the unfortunate prince was captured and killed. The Mughal army returned from Tarai. The Mughal *sardar* told emperor Aurangzeb that the king of Kumaun was truthful and straightforward and he had not given shelter to the prince. Later on king Baz Bahadur Chand sent prince Parvat Singh Gusain and Pt. Vishvarup Pande Rajguru as him ambassadors to Aurangzeb at Delhi and also wrote to him almost all the matter to prove his innocence. The Emperor was pleased and granted his *firman* in respect of Tarai along with robe of honour.

Management of Tarai

When I had finished, I came across the book entitled *History of Aurangzib* (In 5 vols.) written by renowned historian Sir Jadu Nath

Sarkar. In its third vol. on pp. 41-42 is written, "In 1665 an army was sent to Kumaun against king Baz Bahadur Chand. The army of emperor Aurangzeb captured Tarai and the emperor's rule was established there (Oct. 1665) but it was not an easy job to have control over mountains. In May 1666 one lac rupees and 200 stone cutters were sent to help the army. The king of Srinagar backed the Mughals but his nephew who had matrimonial relation in the royal family of Kumaun, backed the king of Kumaun". The historian does not write how king Baz Bahadur Chand who in June 1664 was rewarded for his loyalty, became the object of emperor's anger. A letter the king had written to *Wazir-e-azam* (*divan*) Alivardi Khan clears the whole matter. In it is written, "I am the old slave of the emperor as I have received maintenance from the time of Shah Jahan; my kingdom belongs to the emperor, then why are you desolating it ? The king of Srinagar lodged a false complaint against me that I possess huge wealth, so much gold would not be available even on conducting searches all over the mountains. He should prove the authenticity of his statement. So far as the second point of my going to Srinagar without permission is concerned I am ready to pay fine to the emperor". In Oct. 1673 the king was granted pardon and he sent his prince to the imperial court.

After this king Baz Bahadur Chand started observing strictness in the management of Tarai. King greatly loved Tarai Bhavar. He always toured that region. In Tarai officers were appointed here and there. They were ordered to live at Bazpur and Rudrapur in winter. He founded Bazpur after his name. In summers the officers shifted to Kota and Badakheda. Each and every *bigha* of land was under cultivation. There were forts and palaces in the town of Kota. It was the main capital of Tarai Bhavar. The governor of Tarai Bhavar lived there. Some Muslim *sardars* and army also was posted there for the safety of Mal and their commission was also fixed. Among the Muslims some who belonged to Hedi and Mewati Rajputs were allotted the duties of watchmen of Bhavar. Their commissions were also fixed in villages and fiefs were also granted to them.

63. New Court customs

When the king came back from Tarai Bhavar to Almora, he introduced here those customs which he had seen in Muslim courts and also in those of other kings. *Naubat* (kettle drums) and

nakkarchikhanas (place where drummers sit to beat the drums) were built. Bearers of *asa* (a staff covered with golden silver plate) and *ballam* (a mace so prepared) *chopdars* were also appointed. The king had brought with him a few mace-bearers, drummers, *mirasis*, clowns and mimies from the plains. A brahmin confectioner was also engaged to prepare sweets for the palace. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "And further he established *parichunni* (?) after the name of Gangavishnu, Harbola, Ghatchal, Dangi, Kholia, Patauliya, Pirsujiya etc." According to the arrangements made by prince Shakti Gusain they received their maintenance from the revenue of so and so villages. The king for his own cultivation and for the expenditure of the ante-chamber set apart villages under the name of Pal. It was ordered that the revenue of the villages of Dalkot and Silakaniya he spent over the ordnance factory. The people of village Mahrudi were ordered that they would carry food materials and other things in the time of war. They also manufactured ammunition. Atkinson writes that in order to gain the favour of the emperor of Delhi king Baz Bahadur Chand also levied *Zaziya* (Poll tax) and sent the amount regularly to the emperor of Delhi. Pt. Rudradatt Pant as well as other writers have made no reference to it. The present king Anand Singh has told the author that Dr. Kumarswamy has also contradicted the fact. An application from Kumaun was sent that this tax should not be levied.

64. Installation of Nandadevi

Once he invaded both Badhangarh and Lohabagarh of Garhwal and also captured the fort of Junagarh. Thence brought Nandadevi along with all her attendants and installed her in Malla Mahal. Royal maid servants were deputed there for the service. Later on Mr. Traill shifted and installed her at the present place.

65. Journey to Tibet

King Baz Bahadur Chand was a man of strong religious convictions. He was shocked to hear the stories of atrocities of the Lamas from the pilgrims to Mansarovar and Kailash. He attacked the Tibetans via Bhot and in 1670 A.D. captured the fort of Takalkhal. It is said that the chasm in it that was made by the royal army still exists in its original form. The king depriving the Huniyas of their right over the passes of Kailash, took it in his hands. He also stopped the commission that the Bhotias paid to the Tibetans

but when the Tibetans agreed that in future they would raise no dispute in respect of religion, communication and trade, then he allowed it to continue. With the revenue of the villages Panchu etc. he made an arrangement for food, clothings and lodging of the pilgrims to Mansarovar. The Rajvar looked into the records of Askot and continued the arrangement made by his elders.

66. **Rebellion of prince Udyot Chand**

On coming to Almora the king came to know that during his absence some people had tried their best to instigate prince Udyot Chand and were also successful. A conspiracy even to seige the kingdom had been hatched. At this the king sent prince Udyot Chand to Gangoli across Saryu so that he might saddle the responsibility of the regions such as Sor, Sira, Askot, Darma, Bhot etc. on the other side of Saryu.

67. **Administration of the Kingdom**

In Almora the responsibility of administration was in the hands of Joshis, Chaudharis, Shahus and Ratgaliyas. The Joshis of Jhijhad and Selakhola generally occupied all the posts. Messers Narottam, Prayag Das and Rishikesh were occupying important posts. Sri Prayag Das of Selakhola was appointed as the fourth *daftari*, Shahus, Chaudharis and Ratgaliyas worked as clerks and assistants under him. They also paid presents to *divans* under the name of Siku.

68. **Incidents in Garhwal and Pali Puchhaun**

When king Baz Bahadur Chand was in Bhot, the king of Garhwal collecting an army re-captured the regions formerly conquered by Baz Bahadur Chand. King Baz Bahadur Chand taking some able commanders and army with him reached Garhwal via Pindari and some commanders along with an army went to Lohaba via Ramganga. The people of Sanvali and Bangarsyun helped the army of king Baz Bahadur Chand. All of them jointly drove away the Garhwalis upto Srinagar. In Srinagar proper, the truce was signed and realising the expenditure incurred on military operations and accepting presents the kingdom of Garhwal was handed over to the king.

When disputes and battles between Kumaun and Garhwal occurred again and again and the elders of Pali, belonging to the family of the Katyuris and inborn (natural) enemies of the Chands

always helped the people of Garhwal and themselves also often ransacked the kingdom and also the inhabitants of Sanvali and Bangarsyun sometimes carried plundering operations in Pali. King Baz Bahadur Chand wanted to win them over to his side. So he won over to his side both the factions-Bishts of Sanvali also called Sanvaliyas and Bangarasyun of Bangari also called Rauts (Rawat). Siezing the villages of the Sayana rebels of Pali gave the villages of Tamali etc. to Bishts and Marsoli etc. to Bangari Rauts and they also appointed them *sayanas*. Since then four *sayanas* came into existence in Pali Pachhaun. The Sanvaliya Bishts and Bangari Rauts also claim to be among the descendants of the Katyuris and say that their forefathers had gone towards Garhwal after the disintegration of the Katyuri kingdom and building their fort in Patalidun ruled there. At this very time clans of Aswal and Dangwal also came to Pali from Garhwal. The king granted *kaminchari* to them also. They all had rendered help to the Chand kings in the battle of Garhwal.

It has been said that Pali was conquered in the days of king Kirti Chand but the Katyuris living there were allowed to live in the Manila fort of Salt. In this battle when the news reached the king that the Katyuris had helped Garhwal, the king desolated that fort also and also drove out the Katyuri king from there. In this way even the last sign and scion of the family of Katyuris vanished. Salt also was annexed to the Chand kingdom.

In 1672 the king along with his army invaded the neighbouring villages of Tarai because they always plundered the region of Tarai and also looted the whole of the region upto Nagina.

69. The administration of eastern region

After establishing peace on three sides, king Baz Bahadur Chand turned to eastern region. He met the king of Doti in Sor. Later on he went to Brahmadeo Mandi via Kali. There he found that the king of Chitauna had built a fort in Kalaghat above Brahmadeo and had also declared himself as an independant ruler. Baz Bahadur Chand siezed to fort and then hanged the king from a tree and established peace there. In 1674 the king reached Vyans via Gangoli and annexed Vyans to his kingdom and dictated the same law to the Tibetans in respect of that pass, as in that of Johar. He ordered to pay *sirati* to the Bhotiyas and Huniyas, but for himself levied taxes on gold-dust (*fetang*), musk, musk-navels and salt.

It has already been written that there was dispute between prince Udyot Chand and him. Udyot Chand wrote from Gangoli an ordinary letter to the king but a white (grey) hair was found in it. The king asked its reason from his courtiers. They said that by sending white hair he wants to convey that he had grown old ; he was yet only a prince, when would he become a king ? Thereupon, the king dictated his reply to this letter and despatched it with a black hair of his head and in it also sent a message that the king had not yet grown old. But to console the prince he went to Gangoli and there affectionately met him and after consoling him returned to Almora.

This king did a number of acts of charity. He performed many religious sacrifices in Bageshvar. Recitation, penances and sacrifices had been regularly performed. He built the temple of Pinath. In Chhakhata (Bhimtal) he constructed the temple of Bhimeshvar. He built a number of temples as of Katarmal, of Maharudra in Pali, of goddess Bhavani, and of Badarinath in village Karget etc. He inlaid the temple of Jageshvar with plates of copper. He built many more temples and *naulas*. Lacs of rupees were spent over them. Treasury became almost empty. In his kingdom he levied a tax named *Manga* @ Rs. 2/= per head and collected, got it deposited in the treasury.

The name of the son of the Tewari *Brahmani* sucking whose milk the king had been brought up in Chausar and who had nursed him during his childhood was Narayan Tewari. King Baz Bahadur Chand summoned him to his palace and addressing him as his elder brother said, 'Brother Narayan, come in and be seated and asked him what he should give him. Narayan Tewari replied that Tewari brahmins should be in the same hierarchy of brahmins in which *Guru*, *Purohit*, Pant and Pande are. The king accepted it and ordered his officers that on the occassions when brahmin, *Guru*, *Purohit* class are invited, Pt. Narayan Tewari also be invited along with them. Since then Tewaris say that they belong to the fourth class. Narayan Tewari is among the descendants of above mentioned Sri Chand Tewari and he had also built the temple of Mahadeo in the northern corner towards the east of Hira Dungari which is as yet known after his name. King Bazbahadur Chand met its total expenditure. The memorial of that honest and pious *Brahmin* still exists. The *Tyadi ka naula* which lies near Chausar was also built after his name.

The king though brave and virtuous once so fell into such a trap that he was greatly calumniated in his old age. There was a Dalakoti in the service of the king of Chaugarkha. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "This brahmin entangled him in his claws and said that many conspiracies (*chale*) take place in the kingdom of Kumaun as the king did not put the officers and courtiers to test. When the king wanted to know the method of the test he told him that he would place two heaps of rice : one of good rice and another of bad rice. By touching either of them, he would tell the king which officer and courtier was good and which was bad. The king's intellect was dulled. The king according to the advice of the Brahmin started the touching of rice by his servants and courtiers and then taking many of them as bad, got them killed.

Whomsoever the Dalakoti brahmin wanted to be killed, he declared him bad on the ground that he had touched the heap of rice. In this way on the advice of the brahmin the king got hundreds of his men killed. Eyes of many more were pulled out. Since then this proverb goes, "**वर्ष भया अस्सी, बुद्धि गई नस्सी**" (When one becomes eighty years old, his wisdom is destroyed.)

Sri Sundar Bhandari of village Bajel of Baramandal was a favourite attendant of the king. One day he told the king that he being misguided by Dalakoti, had got unnecessarily killed many men and so the officers of the state were displeased with him. The king said that he does not get anybody killed without enquiries. The justice through the heap of rice was quite correct. Then Sundar Bhandari said, 'I am placing two heaps of rice. You may keep in your mind that one heap will mean that Sri Sundar Bhandari regards you as bad and second one will mean that he regards you good. Accidently Sundar Bhandari touched the heap which contained the indication no. 1. This direct proof opened the oid king's eyes, he got Dalakoti punished and said that he had committed great sin and granted maintenance to the kith and kin of those who had been put to death. Still people were afraid of coming near the king. Since then runs the Kumauni proverb ;

"जैको बाप रिखलै खायो, ऊ काल खुनि देखि डरो"

Though people took the expiation of king as showy but it is said that the king was greatly hurt by that sin.

Between this king and his minister Narottam Joshi it was stipulated that no order would be issued without the signature of king and the king would put his signature only on that paper which would be just in the eyes of the minister and for signing it the *divan* would lift a pen from the royal pen-stand and filling it with ink give it to the king, the key of the pen-stand would be in the minister's possession. This agreement was always acted upon.

Once the minister for an urgent piece of work issued a royal order under his own signature during the king's absence. The opponents, God knows, what things, told the king, that he got displeased and ordered that the hands of minister Narottam Joshi be cut off. At this a Rantgali deputy minister to get the fault of the minister excused paid on his own behalf a fine of Rs. 40000/-. Then the king excused him.

A few years later another occasion came when the issue of an order under king's signature was essential, but the minister was not present. Then the opponent of the minister told the king that the king was only a minister and the minister was the virtual king. The work of the state was held up and the minister was rollicking at home. Then the king getting angry got the pen-stand broken open and the royal order written by another officer issued under his signature. When the minister came back he found the pen-stand broken. Then coming to know about these things he resigned from ministership. Later on when the anger of the king subsided he summoned the minister but he did not turn up and sent him a message that when he had no faith in his minister he would never serve him.

Pt. Srinivas Pande was the *rajguru* and Pt. Rudradeo Pande, *purohit* of king Baz Bahadur Chand. Sri Narottam Joshi, Sri Bhavdeo Joshi and Sri Sudarshan Upreti were the ministers. Sri Vishvarup Pande, Sri Vinayak Adikari, Sri Vikramark Gusain, Sri Pratapaditya Gusain, Sri Arjun Singh Gusain were commanders of army and courtiers. Great scholars adorned the royal court. The science of astrology was greatly progressing, Pt. Hiramani Joshi of Mala, Pt. Ramapati of Sarp, Pt. Manorath Joshi of Bherang were the chief astrologers of the royal court. Almanacs and a number of astrological works were composed.

In the copper-plate possessed by Pt. Chintamani Mafidar occur these verses :

(१)

आकर्णाल्पजयः प्राची यवाची मा बरेल्लिकाम।
आवः श्रीनगरात्पश्चात् उदीची माचरुद्गुणान्।।

(२)

पूर्वं शास्त्रात्परं शास्त्रं प्रबलं जायते यथा।
पूर्वं दानात्परं दानं तथा श्रीबाजभूपतेः।।

(३)

तद्वंशे रुद्रचन्द्रोभूद्वाचस्पतिरिवापरः।
पार्थ एवं धनुर्वेदेऽखिल दुर्गादिदेशजित्।।

Another verse relating to Mathematics has been found in an ancient inscription :

श्रीमद्राजबहादुरचन्द्र नरेशाऽज्ञया सुकमठाद्रः।
पंचांगा नयनार्थे सुसारिणीनिर्मिता सुगण केन्द्रैः।।

The king had three sons. Prince Udyot Chand, prince Pahad Singh Gusain and third prince who had left the home and become a hermit.

The period of the rule of this king was quite glorious. He conquered a number of *parganas*. Extended the empire and brought in a number of new reforms but as ill luck would have it his last days were very bad. Like Aurangzeb he also had developed insanity. He was always suspicious of his courtiers and sons that anyone might kill him any moment. So he dismissed all his old servants under the fear that some one might kill him. In 1680 this king died a very painful death in Almora. None cared for him.

The following copper-plates of his time have come to light—

1.	1640 A.D. ;	*gunth*	in the	name of	Lakhanpur	temple.
2.	1643 A.D. ;	,,	,,	,,	Badrinath	,,
3.	1643 A.D. ;	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
4.	1648 A.D. ;	,,	,,	,,	Someshvar	,,
5.	1654 A.D. ;	,,	,,	,,	Pinath	,,

6. 1659 A.D. to the family of Sri Narayan Tewari.
7. 1662 A.D. a temple was built in the memory of Sri Narayan Tewari
8. 1664 A.D. ; Baleshvar temple, Champavat.
9. 1665 A.D. ; a *jagir* to the family of Sri Kamalapati Joshi.
10. 1666 A.D. ; *gunth* to Briddh Kedar temple.
11. 1670 A.D. ; *gunth* to the issue of Sri Narayan Tewari.
12. 1670 A.D. ; *gunth* to Sri Jageshvar temple.
13. 1671 A.D. ; *gunth* to Bageshvar temple.
14. 1671 A.D. ; *jagir* to Pt. Krishnanand Joshi of Galli.
15. 1675 A.D. *jagir* to Sri Kulomani Pande.
16. 1673 A.D., *sadavart* for the travellers of Mansarovar
17. 1566 Shakabda, a copper plate of land grant to Pt-Manorath Joshi of Bherang, Pokhari.
18. 1566 *shakabda*, a copper-plate of *mafi* to Trilochan Pant of Khunt in Dopahariya, Kichchha.

This Pt. Narayan Tewari is identified with his name who was a god-brother of king Bazbahadur Chand.

The copper-plates of Chand kings were called *katardar* as the kings instead of putting their signatures made the mark of their dagger on them. Their names used to be engraved in the beginning of the copper-plate. The name of chief officers as well were engraved in the copper plates. This very rule was followed while putting signatures on papers also.

70. **Expenditure on trip to Delhi**

King Baz Bahadur Chand had gone to Delhi. The author has received a page from his diary in which the expenses in respect of presents before the king (*nazarana*) are described. The copy of the diary is given here (in the original langauge).

"शाके १५७८ वैशाख सुदी ३ गुरौ श्रीराजा बाजबहादुरचंददेव की चलाई दिल्ली-दरबार भई। पेशकश को साज।"

श्रीपातशाहीज्यू साहीजादा को	तैका रुपैया
१00१) मोहर दरी १४ ।। अदपाई आनु	१४५३१)
३000) रुपया नजरी को	३000)
२ षाँड़ा बड़ा ओलिया म्यान सुनुका कटाऊ का १५२ म. ५ नं० म्यान	१८१६)
५ कटारा औली मुट्ठा सुनुका येक षंड मुट्ठा ५ की श्री सुधा	
का १२३ म० ४ मुट्ठा ५	
का २ म० कोथी २	१0५४)

४ कटारी सुनु का मुट्ठा का	१६।)
६ गूँठ साज का ४३७ म० १ र. सिरछालगजगाह गूँठ	५२४५)
का १५६ म० १० गूँठ २ साज सिरछाल २ गजगाह २ साल २	
का २७७३ र. गूँठ ७ सात ७ माला गूँठ को अल्मोड़ा	
वाली चौकी ५ का ३५ म० ७	४२७)
७ षांडा और नाना का ४१ म० ६ रः वीनातइनाल	४६८)
२ हातीन को साज मोल लीनु	५000)
१ हाती मोल लीनु	८000)
२ टूल हाती की मोल ली दीनी	२५४।।)
६ कटारा	११६)
२ कटारा दरी १0)	२0)
२ कटारा दरी १२)	२४)
५ कटारा लींगवानी दरी १५)	७५)
१ हाती गजराज घर को दीनु	१0000)
६ गूँठ	
२२५ चंचल १ १५0) संगराम गुसाईवालो।)	
१00) नवाबवालो १ १५0) मलयागर नेगीवालो १)	
१७५) सौकावालो १ १४0) नंदन कुँवरवालो १)	१३८0)
१00) भागपूत भंडारीवालो १ १४0) कंठ पुलानावालो १)	
२00) रामकृष्णवालो १	
ग० ५३ मखमल	124)
२ फुंदना	३६।।।)
चारजामा गदी बागडोर	४४)
६ चँवर बड़ी गुंठन मै दीर गजगाह	६0)
२ षाँडा-बड़ा आँवली	२000)
७ षाँडा नाना दरी ३0)	२१0
कस्तुरा की मौर षडी रूपा की	३)
का० ३ म० ५ न०	१३८६0।।।)
जोड़ ऊपर को	४0४२७)
बेगम कौ	
१0१) मोहर	१४७३)
रुपैया	५00)

साहीजादा दाराशाह कौ पेशकश वैशाख सुदी ६ रवौ	१९७३)
१०१) मोहर	१४५३)
रुपैया नजर कौ	१०००)
१ गूँठ सुनुका साज को सीरछाल गजगाह	९४३)
मालादरी १२९ का० ७८ म० ५	
४ गूँठ और सुनुका सात का	१६७६)
का १३९ म० ६ सीरछाल गजगाह दरी १२)	
४ माला अल्मोड़ावाली	२५७)
का २१ म० ५	
१ षाँडो नाना वीना चाकी तइनाल का २३ म० ४	२८०)
८ षाँडा नाना वीना चाकी तइनाल	५७०)
१ षाँडो बड़ो अवलिया	१००)
५ गूँठ	५६०)

१७५) महेसपंथ वालो १   ९०) जरदा १
१२५) वीसी गुसाई वालो १   ८९) देउतवालो १
९०) मुस्की केशव विष्टवालो १

71. **(51) King Udyot Chand**
(1678–1698 A.D.)

On the death of king Baz Bahadur Chand, king Udyot Chand was summoned from Gangoli and he unopposed and gladly ascended the throne. People were happy that the old and tyrannical king was dead. Being displeased at the behaviour of the king of Garhwal, king Udyot Chand invaded Badhangarh in 1678 A.D. and seized the fort of Badhan. But in this battle Maisi Sahu, his valiant

army-commander was killed. Next year in 1679 he was more successful when he went to Garhwal from Ganai. Then he went from Lohaba to Chandpur which he seized and badly plundered. In 1680 A.D. the king of Garhwal made peace with the king of Doti by which they decided to help each other. There the king of Doti seized Champavat and here the king of Garhwal seized Dunagiri and Dwarahat. This war continued for two years but at last the Kumauni army came victorious against both these two strong enemies. Since then there at both the places Dwarahat and Dunagiri army was posted and in the east in Sor, Champavat and Brahmadeo Mandi permanent cantonments were established and there trained and permanent army was stationed.

Taking these victories as the grace of God the king went to Prayagraj to have a dip and perform worship there. In *samvat* 1739 he took his bath in the Ganga at Raghunathpur. But while returning he got the news in the very way that the Raika king Deopal had invaded Kali Kumaun. His success was shortlived because in 1685 A.D. in the month of *falgun* the Kumaunis drove away the dotiyals across Kali and captured the fort of Ajmergarh near Dundoldhura where the kings of Doti resided in summers and now the officer in charge Chauntara resides. The king of Doti fled away from Ajmergarh to Devayal on the bank of river Seti where he lived during winters but the Kumaunis in 1688 A.D. in the month of *pus* driving him away from there also compelled him to flee to the fort of Khairagarh where his relatives lived. Udyot Chand in 1688 A.D. invaded Khairigarh and also seized it. Khairigarh is situated between Doti and Lucknow. Then a written agreement was made by which the king of Doti was compelled to pay tribute to the Kumaunis in future. These victories were celebrated in Almora with great pomp and show. In the memory of this happy event a fort was built where at present the Mission School is housed. Also the temples of Tripurasundari, Udyotchandeshvar and Parvatishvar were built. A tank was also built in the royal enclosure.

In 1696 A.D. the king of Doti violating the terms of the peace of Khairigarh, stopped paying the tribute. King Udyot Chand along with his army again swooped on Doti across Kali but this time he had to suffer defeat. The king had to hand over the charge of the army to Sri Shiromani Joshi and Sri Manorath Joshi and himself came to Almora to bring more army. A few days later the dotiyals

killed Sri Shiromani Joshi and scattered his army and in the end the king had to recall his total army from there.

Like his father Baz Bahadur Chand, Udyot Chand also was lover of knowledge and education. He invited scholars from distant countries to his place and settled them down in Almora. He took keen interest in the management of Tarai Bhavar and near Kota Bhavar he planted a number of mango orchards.

Seeing his last phase of life, he spent his days in worship and progress and handing over the responsibility of his kingdom to his son Gyan Chand, died in 1698 A.D.

Like his father this king too was a great lover of temples and also granted *gunths* and *jagirs*, some of which are noted here :

1. 1678 A.D. in the name of Sri Devidatt Pathak.
2. 1682 A.D. in the name of Sri Rameshvar temple of Bel.
3. 1682 A.D. in the name of the family of Pt. Shiv Shankar Tewari
4. 1684 A.D. in the name of the temple of Jageshvar.
5. 1684 A.D. „ „ „ „ „
6. 1686 A.D. in the name of Baleshvar, Thal
7. 1689 A.D. in the name of the families of Pt. Krishnanand Joshi
8. 1690 A.D. in the name of the temple of Dipchandeshvar.
9. 1691 A.D. „ „ „ „ Pinath.
10. 1692 A.D. „ „ „ „ Jageshvar in Darun
11. 1693 A.D. „ „ „ „ Kalika in Gangolihat.
12. 1693 A.D. „ „ „ „ „ „
13. 1693 A.D. „ „ „ „ Bhaunaditya in Bel.
14. 1693 A.D. „ „ „ „ Rameshvar in Bel.
15. 1693 A.D. family of Sri Bhavdeo Pande.
16. 1693 A.D. Temple of Nagarjun in Dwara.
17. In *shake* 1613 Pt. Rishikesh Joshi of Pokhari Bherang was given copper plate after conferring land.
18. In *shake* 1613 in the name of Bhana Bijaraula, temple of Narayanidevi, Naukuchiyatal (Chhakhata).

This king was steadfast in religious duties. He built a number of temples and performed so many religious sacrifices.

In *samvat* 1743 *i.e.* in 1686 A.D. in the month of *ashadh* this king built afresh a temple of Balishavar Shiva at the bank of Ramganga in Sira and consecrated it.

In *samvat* 1746 *i.e.* 1689 A.D. the king worshipped God by burning one lac lamps. It is called Laksh *Dipavali* and this very year the king started building Talla Mahal. (Formerly there were *peshkari* and prison in this place and now a Mission School and a hospital). There is an interesting story regarding laying the foundation of this palace. To the east in a corner, where later on 'Fulari-ka-Bangala' was built there, lived the widowed wife of a Karnatak Brahmin. She had a small cottage and flower garden. Without demolishing this cottage one corner of the palace was getting oblique. The widowed Brahmani was asked to accept whatever is the cost of her house and the land. But she did not agree. The king asked her to build her cottage and garden at another place, but to this also she did not agree. She said that if force was applied against her she would commit suicide and the sin would be with king. On this the king left her to live as before and said that it mattered little if the corner of his palace got a bit oblique. Karnatak Brahmins came to Kumaun from Karnatak. Their descendants are still present in even Kumaun. Those days even the kings had respect for even a widowed Brahmani. Now land is seized by passing laws.

In *samvat* 1747-48 (1690–91 A.D.) this king simultaneously built four temples: temples of (i) Udyotchandeshvar, (ii) Parvatishvar, (iii) Tripuradevi and (iv) Vishnu. Out of these the first three temples still exist, in the place of the fourth temple stands the bungalow of Pt. Devidatt, deputy collector. This temple ruptured in 1816 A.D. The temples of Parvatishvar and Udyotchandeshvar are near Nandadevi. The temple of Tripurasundari is located on a high peak. At the place where the temple of Udyotchandeshvar stands, at first the king had started building his palace but when a goodly number of worms issued forth from there, he stopped the construction of the palace and built temple of Shiva there.

In *samvat* 1749 (*i.e.* 1692 A.D.) in *baishakh* the king invited a brahmin well grounded in *Atharvaveda* and bearing the title of Bhatt, from the south and donated him in *grihdan* a newly constructed big house along with land for cultivation. Now the house stands broken. This was located in Pandekhola opposite Almora.

In *samvat* 1749 the king built the Rangmahal of his *harem* (*devadi*) in Almora and below it built a tank for the *harem*. In this tank sometimes the king enjoyed pleasure bath along with his queens. From the palace upto the tank stood a screen of high walls. Now the palace has not remained the same, it is now broken, but the tank still exists. The walls were demolished in the time of the company rule. This palace was built below the Tallamahal towards its west. A Bungalow was built here in the beginning of the company rule. For many years the public court and offices were housed in it. Later on king Nand Singh began to reside here.

In *samvat* 1754 *i.e.* 1697 A.D., the king built the Dashhara building called '*Dashain ka Chhaja*' in his palace. In that building (*chhaja*) on the day of *vijayadashami* meetings and dance and drama were arranged. In *samvat* 1755 (*i.e.* 1698 A.D.) the king built the temple of Shukeshvar Mahadeo in the middle of Athaguli Patti and installed the idol there. He built the temple of Someshvar Mahadeo in Baurarau and also installed an idol there. Near it he also built a *naula*.

In the *harem* of this king Udyot Chand there was a *khavasan* (lady personal attendant of a king) named Mrs. Parvati Devi. Outwardly she was very beautiful to look at but quite ill at heart. She was greatly loved by the king. The king installed Parvatishvar Mahadeo after her name. The *khavas* queen wanted that a son born to her, should be the king, but no son was born to her. A son was born to the chief queen. To procure a son for herself and get the sons of other queens killed, Parvati Devi summoned from Buksad a *bharad* (a person expert in witchcraft, sorcery and demonology). He brought the prince possessed by demoniacally evil spirits as a result of which prince Hari Chand alias Harihar Chand died. The *bharad* and the prince both after their death became ghosts. The ghost of prince stalked in town at night. So many people being afraid of ghost died at night. Then the king built a house and installed the ghosts of *bharad* and the prince there. This temple called Shah Bhairon or Sai Bhairav still stands behind Lala Bazar. When the king died, that very day Parvati out of her jealousy for the princes

and queens ground the pearls and corals of the royal court and also broke costly utensils of gold and silver and ornaments. When the king was ailing she sent a message to the king of Garhwal to come and seize Kumaun as the king was to die. The king of Garhwal along with his army made an attack but the people of Kumaun with great difficulties defeated him in his foul design. On the death of the king, Parvati committed *sati.*

72. **The Story of Riddhigiri**

The place, where the army is now stationed, was formerly called Lalmandi. The fort there also was called the fort of Lalmandi. There lived one *baba* (saint) Riddigiri Gusain. There was great love between him and king Udyot Chand. *Baba* addressed king Udyot Chand as *Uduva.* The king sometimes went to his monastery and sitting there for some time came back. One day finding him naked the king said, 'O *baba* you live naked, it is winter, kindly wrap your body with this blanket.' Saying so he presented him a good shawl. The *baba* said, 'O Uduva ! the shawl is meant to be worn by kings. What is the use of this shawl for me, a *fakir,* who besmears his body with ash.' But when the king insisted very much, the sage accepted the shawl. The king posted a *fulara* (gardener) to see what the sage did with the shawl. Later on when the sage found no body around there, he lifted the shawl with his *chimata* (forceps) and threw it into the *dhuni* (fire). The *fulara* informed the king about this. Seeing the sage naked again one day the king asked him why he remained naked and did not cover his body with the blanket. The sage guessed that the king might have thought that the sage could not appreciate the worth of the shawl and he had unnecessarily given it to him. The sage lifted his forceps and placing it into *dhuni* pulled out the shawl and cast it before the king and said, 'O Uduva ! take it, here is your shawl.' The king got a bit perturbed and irritated and with folded-hand said, 'I have behaved in an irresponsible and foolish way, kindly pardon me.' "He left the shawl there. The sage gave it to a poor man. Later on this sage went to Jageshvar and while alone committed himself to a grave. A few days later some Kumaunis went to Haridwar to have a dip on the occassion of Kumbh. There *baba* Ridhigiri raising his head from Bhahmkund said, "O brothers ! convey my *ram ram* (salutation) to Uduva. One day he gave this ring to me, give it back to him." They on their return to Almora narrated the whole matter to king and

gave him the ring. The king got dug up the grave of Riddhigiri in Jageshvar but bones were not available, but a ditch going deeper and deeper. The king got very much nervous and got the ditch filled up. That very night the king saw Riddhigiri in a dream who was saying, 'O Uduva ! I spent eight *pahars* (period of three hour's time) in Jageshvar. You have distributed me. Now I shall spend one *pahar* here and seven *pahars* elsewhere.' The king donated a village for his *samadhi* and deputed men for the service of the *samadhi*. Still this village exists in the name of Samadhi. Incense etc. are offered at the *samadhi*. The temple of Siddha Narsingh and Siddh Nauli are the memorials of this very *baba*. This king laid great stress on the population of Tarai Bhavar. In his time it was densely populated. There was an officer named Srinath Adhikari. He founded Srinathpur which is now located in *pargana* Chilkiya. Mr. Adhikari also planted a mango orchard in Kashipur which is now known as 'Nagansati ka bag'. This garden lies adjacent to Kashipur to its north. This king planted some more mango orchards. One orchard was planted in Kota which still exists there. King Udyot Chand's desire was to plant a chain of mango trees right from Kota to Kashipur so that the travellers might walk under the shade of the trees and be saved from the heat-of the sun.

The king spent lacs of rupees on good works and himself was a lover of religious activities. Pt. Rudradatt Pant uses the word *tapasvi* for him. So his name spread to far off countries. Owing to this great scholars from Kannauj, Gujarat, and the south attended the court and always received charities and honorarium from the king. Scholarly discussions were always held here. The king himself was a learned man and respected the scholars. There was a good publicity of education in his times. A number of Sanskrit works also were composed in the time of this king.

73. **Honouring poets**

It is said that court poet of Sahu Maharaj of Sataragarh Maniram had come to the king to Almora. He recited before the king his self composed poem in his praise. The king rewarded Rs. 10000/- in cash and one elephant.

पुराण पुरुष के परम दृग दोऊ कहत बेदबानी यूं पढ़ गई।
वे दिवसपति वे निशापति जोतकर काहूँ की बढ़ाई-ना बढ़ गई।।
सूर्य के घर में कर्ण महादानी भयो याहूसोच समझ चित चिंता सों मढ़ गई।
अब तो हूँ राज बैठत उद्योतचंद चंद के कर्ण की किरक करजे सों कढ़ गई।।

It is said so that poet Madan also lived in his court. The king got displeased with the poet. He was ordered to be banished. Other poets also were stopped from coming to the court. Then it is said that poet laureate Matiram wrote this poem and sent it in the court.

कर्ण के भोज के विक्रम के प्रबंध सुनो,
　　किस भाँति कविन को आगे लीजियतु है।
कवि मतिराम सभा के राज श्रृंगार हम,
　　जाके बैन सुन पीयूष पीजियतु है।।
एक के गुनाह नरनाह श्रीउद्योतचंद
　　कविन पै एतो रोष कहा कीजियतु है।
काहूँ मतवारे एक अंकुश न मान्यो, तो
　　द्विरद दरबारन तें दूर कीजियतु है।।

People say that as soon as the king heard his poem he withdrew his order.

In the time of Udyot Chand, Joshis of Danya and Jhihada were the *divan* and deputy *divan* was Chaudari. Sri Bhavadeo Joshi was the private secretary. Pratapaditya Gusain, Jaswant Singh, Pahad Singh, Sujan Singh Darbari were *senapatis* and chief officers. Ripumall, Harimall, Bhim Singh, Ramapandit, Srinath Adhikari etc. also were the state functionaries. After ruling for 20 years Udyot Chand died in 1698 A.D.

74. **(52) King Gyan Chand**

(1698—1708 A.D.)

King Gyan Chand ascended the throne in 1698. Practically his father king Udyot Chand had from before entrusted the affairs of the state to him. As in former times almost every king as soon as he ascended the throne invaded Doti. Similarly now each and every successor of the Chand king had made a rule to invade Garhwal. Gyan Chand began the period of his rule with disolating the fertile region, right from Pindari to Tharali. In 1699 he badly plundered the region of Badhan. In course of the loot he carried away from there the golden idol of Nandadevi which was installed in the temple of Nandadevi. The next year *i.e.* 1700 A.D. he crossed Ramganga and plundered the villages of Sabali, Khatali, Sainjdhar

etc. of Malla Salam. In 1701 while returning, the king of Garhwal made desolate the region of Givad and Chaukot of Pali *pargana* by plundering. In this way every year mutual invasions were carried out and every side tried its best to desolate other's country. The poor farmers leaving the bordering villages fled to distant places. The bordering regions were desolated and ruined, some were turned into dense forests. In 1703 A.D. the Kumaunis defeated the Garhwalis in Dudhauli above Mehalchauri and the royal army went upto Srinagar and plundered all the way. The king of Garhwal fled to the other side of Alaknanda. The king of Kumaun, after plundering the region came back.

In 1704 A.D. king Gyan Chand sent an army to Doti and desolated the region of Bhavar but the army had to greatly suffer from fever.

In 1704 again, an army was sent to Garhwal and the Kumauni army capputed Juniyagadhi of middle Chankot and afterwards went upto Chandpur via the passes of Panuvakhal and Divalikhal and totally destroyed the forts there. The king of Garhwal had repaired the Juniygadhi but that too was demolished.

The following copper plates of the time of this king have come to light :

1. 1701 A.D. a fief to the family of Kulomani Pande.
2. 1703 A.D. in the name of Pt. Krishnanand Joshi.
3. 1718 A.D. *gunth* in the name of the temple of Patal Bhuvenshvar at Gangoli.

In *samvat* 1759 the king went to Haridwar to take a bath in the Ganga and distributed much wealth in charity. In *samvat* 1760 the king renovated the temple of Vidyanath on the bank of Gomati and performed its installation and in that very *samvat* also built at Katyur the temple of Badrinath and also performed its consecration.

In *samvat* 1761 built a new house near Dharanaula in Almora and donated the house along with some land to Sri Vishvarup Pant. The king took away the fourth *daftar* from the hands of Prayagdas Joshi of Selakhola and granted it to Srinath Adhikari in the form of a copper-plate. The king was pleased with Srinath because he had

very much raised the population in Mal or Tarai Bhavar and planted a number of mango orchards. This very king had built the *naula* at Hawalbag.

After ruling for 10 years this king died in *samvat* 1765 *i.e.* 1708 A.D. and his son prince Jagat Chand ascended the throne.

75. **(53) King Jagat Chand**

(1708—1720 A.D.)

On the death of king Gyan Chand (2) in 1708, king Jagat Chand ascended the throne. Mr. Atkinson writes, 'Some say that he was not the son of a wedded queen.' But Pt. Rudradatt Pant does not regard him as a hybrid, but the worthiest king. Following the former tradition he invaded Garhwal via Pindari and Lohaba and in 1709 A.D. reached upto Srinagar. When the king of Garhwal fled to Dehradun, he granted Srinagar to a brahmin and distributed the wealth, he had plundered, among the poor and his soliders. It is said that he also sent a part of the wealth by way of *nazarana* (present) to emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi. He levied tax on gambling also. Atkinson says that this income also he sent to the Delhi court.

The nature of king Jagat Chand is said to be quite affable and lofty. He was a popular king. He met all, high and low, affectionately and took keen interest in the affairs of the state. In his time Tarai yielded a revenue of full nine lacs and the goddess of victory had attained the highest point. The treasury also was full and the kingdom extended far and wide. Peace reigned everywhere 'and people were happy. But just after this, serious domestic quarrels started on account of which the chains of the kingdom began to be loosened with in the mountain and the plain and the decline of the Chand kingdom began. The following six copper-plates granted by him have come to light :

1. 1710 A.D. *gunth* in the name of Punyagiridevi.
2. 1710 A.D. in the name of the family of Pt. Devidatt Pande.
3. 1712 A.D. *gunth* in the name of Bhramaridevi at Katyur.
4. 1713 A.D. *gunth* n the name of temple of Baijnath.
5. 1716 A.D. in the name of the temple of Nagnath at Champavat.

6. 1718 A.D. in the name of the temple of Patal Bhuvaneshvar at Gangoli.

King Jagat Chand had taken great part in affairs of the state during the time of his father king Gyan Chand. So he was well acquainted with the state business and the ways of his functionaries. In *samvat* 1766 he plundered the *pargana* of Lohaba and in *samvat* 1767 the region of Badhan. When he during his plunder failed to find the gold–idol of Nandadevi, he drew 200 gold *mohars* from his treasury; got prepared with it the idol of goddess Nanda, and installed it in a temple inside the Malla Mahal.

When the king of Kumaun reached Srinagar along with his army, Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, 'The king of Garhwal crossing Alaknanda fled away with a view to resolve the dispute for ever near Sriyantra on the bank of Ganga with a solemn resolve to donate the region of Garhwal to the Brahmins. This resolve of the king was strange.

In the time of this king the Joshis of Jhijhad occupied high posts in administration as well as military. The Joshis of Galli did the job of writing the accounts of the brahmins. The Joshis of Danya were entrusted with the total responsibility of maintaining the record of the property and expenditure of the temples of Jageshvar and Bageshvar etc. Sri Manika Gaida alias Bisht also who had shown unique valour in the battle of Garhwal, was given an honorable post in the royal court. Sri Sur Singh Aidi was appointed *bakshi* (commander). Prince Pahad Singh was also the chief of the functionaries of the royal court.

The king sent a number of presents such as—horses, elephants, *chanvar, khanda, peskhash, mustik, khukuri, niuvisi, gajgah* and utensils of gold and silver to Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, the emperor of Delhi. On their receipt *firman* and *khillat* were received. The *firman* still exists.

This king levied tax on gambling also. When the Chand king played at dice, it was customary to summon all—*bakshi, wazir, divan* and *daftari*. The dice of others were openly thrown but as soon as the king threw the dice with his hand, the *fulara* covered it with a sheet of cloth so that none might know the score of the pawn. But all had to speak out 'thirteen'. Rupees and gold *mohars* pawned by the other employees were pushed towards the king. So the king

always won. This was called king's pawn. When the play was over the king gave all the money, he had won, to others. He kept with him some nominal amount.

The king donated one thousand cows which is called *Gosahasradan*. He spent lacs of rupees over it. *Guru, pauranik, purohit, dharmadhikari, vaidya* etc. were highly honoured in the royal court. Pandes were the *guru* and *purohit*. The custodian of *Dharmshastra, Purana and Vaidyashastra* were Pants. Pants were also appointed on posts relating to army and administration. *Sardars, faujdars* and Garaka Negis also were dead honest and highly honoured in the kingdom of this king. The subjects also were happy. The rule of Jagat Chand is well known.

King Jagat Chand kept all pleased, yet God knows, why the crafty people of his time dropping '*Shitala Ki Bal*' on the king got him killed. It could not be guessed how and when '*Shitala ki bal*' was thrown. Did he die of Shitala ? He died in *samvat* 1777, *shake* 1642 *i.e.* 1720 A.D.

These works were composed during the region of this king :

1. Commentary *Jagat Chandrika*
2. Commentary of *Durga*

76. **(54) King Devi Chand**
(1720—1726 A.D.)

There was a hearsay prior to this king's birth which being interesting is quoted here, 'In the time of the rule of king Jagat Chand there came a brahmin from Kanauj. Coming to the royal court of Almora he told the king that he needed Rs. 10000/- which the king should give at once. Setting apart something for the maintenance of his family with the rest he would go to Banaras and receive education. Then the king said that it was a difficult thing to give Rs. 10000/- to each student, as hearing this the boys of all the other brahmins would swoop the court and how could he give them so much wealth. It was the custom of the court that whosoever after getting knowledge came to the court as a scholar and participated in discussions with other scholars, according to his performance there he got the reward. The king ordered to grant him a small amount but the brahmin was a bit tenacious. He said that he would not

accept small amount but would himself spend the whole of the royal treasury. 'Lo ! I am going home, you be happy. 'Saying so and blessing the king the brahmin went to his place. Later on from there he went to Prayag. There he underwent *karot i.e.* committed suicide and while dying he prayed for a benedict (*dua*) that he be born in the family of king Jagat Chand.' Prince Devi Chand was born after this incident. It is true that prince Devi Chand without being taught spoke the language of the plains and was even a bit of eccentric temperament. The prince ascended the throne on the death of his father in *samvat* 1777 *i.e.* 1720 A.D.

King Jagat Chand having conquered the regions of Srinagar and Garhwal donated them by will to a brahmin. The king of Garhwal re-occupied his kingdom. Hearing about it king Devi Chand with his army again attacked the king of Srinagar. Going there he defeated the king in the battle and after carrying a bit of of plundering came back.

In the court of this king Sri Puranmal Bisht, the son of Sri Manik Bisht, wielded great power. Sri Manik Bisht was honoured in the court in the days of the former kings also for his valour. In the time of this king he had grown old. This Gaida Bisht had came from Garhwal. He had helped the king of Kumaun in the battle of Garhwal. After the Bisht, the Joshi of Danya was the wielder of power in the court. It is said that there was close alliance between the two grades. Pt. Bhavanand Joshi of Digoli was a minister of third grade but Joshi Diwan of Danya and Gaida Bisht both excluded him while delivering policy.

The army of Garhwal had again attacked the fort of Ranchula. King Devi Chand again beat it back and in *shake* 1645 he want to Srinagar. Going there and establishing his authority there he took his army towards Dehradun and from there returned to Kumaun via Tarai.

Coming to Almora when he inspected his ancestral treasury, got the cash counted he found that there was a cash deposit of Rs. 3.5 crores. King Jagat Singh had collected the amount, a part of it might have been of earlier times. On finding so much wealth the heart of king Devi Chand got damn happy. Importance of charitable and religious acts also grew high, but the hand of the king itched to spend more and more. The king was a bit accentric ; besides the

sychophant courtiers instigated him "O king! you are highly powerful. Neither any one has been like you nor would be in future. If you want to be immortal you also do all the work that great king Vikramaditya did. It is said that at the time of ascending the throne Vikramaditya had cleared all the loans of his subjects." Eccentricty of becoming Vikramaditya overpowered his mind and royal order was issued. 'I want to become a *shakebandh* king. I clear off all the loans of all the brahmins of my kingdom, all should be present etc.' On getting this news hundred of brahmins came to the court with handnotes and account books of the debtors. It is said that about one crore was spent over clearing of loans. Who knows how much of it was actually spent over the payment of debts and how much was consumed by the sycophant courtiers who exalting the king as incarnation of virtue had advised him to establish *satyug* so that there might not exist even a poor, destitute, hungry, naked and debtor in his kingdom. It is not possible to say whether or not it has happened so in future.

This king gave many villages also as free land in *gunth*. He donated one thousand cows. He performed two *tuladans* with gold *mohars* and four *tuladans* with rupees and first performed *Laksh Hom* and then *Koti Hom*. At the end of these *homs* he gave by way of *dakshina* eight thousand *mohars*.

Later on in *shake* 1646 he resided in Hawalbag. On the *danda* (high land) in front of it stood hundreds of pine trees. Seeing them the king said, "These trees are feeling cold ; wrap these trees from root to flower with tinsel, flattened gold threads, brocades.' It was done accordingly. After some days it was ordered that penurious persons may loot them away. 'That *danda* was named Fatehpur. It is said that in 1876, the commissioner Mr. Gardener ordered that these trees were not to be cut.

Mr. Atkinson describes this incident thus, "King Devi Chand asked the Brahmin to return to Srinagar which had been entrusted to him by his father. On his not returning it he tried to forcibly seize it but was unsuccessful and the king along with his army was driven away to Ganai. King Devi Chand was a weak king and totally a puppet in the hands of his advisers. But as the proverb goes 'परबुद्धि विनाशये' he also had to be miserable. When according to his vow he could not conquer Srinagar, he either under the influence of the intoxication of *bhang* or in drowsiness of insanity

treated a peak of mountain near Hawalbag as Srinagar and won it in mock fight. It was covered with carpets and trees were wrapped with cloth. The whole place was decorated with flowers, leaves and perfume and it was named Fatehpur. The king entered into it with great pomp and show."

I have placed both the accounts—one given by Mr. Atkinson and another by Pt. Rudradatt Pant—before the readers. Both of them reflect the eccentricity and foolishness of the king. The country where such foolish kings are born in sure to be doomed.

When after the death of king Jagat Chand, the beloved of his subjects, there is no wonder, if seeing such activities of king Devi Chand people regarded him as the incarnation of that brahmin of Kannauj who had come to beg Rs. 10000/- from his father and when refused had committed suicide at Prayag because half-literate and illogical mind reposes great faith in gods and goddesses, ghosts and goblins and false religious and supersitious stories.

Thus, the courtiers grabbed all the wealth of this insane king and then they started hatching conspiracies. It has been said about this king that he often suffered from fits of madness, so this poor king was not so much responsible for his actions as his ministers, as mostly the kings follow the advice of their ministers. Then the chief advisers of the king were Gaida Bisht, Sri Manik Kamal of Garhwal and his son Sri Puranmal. They had greatly befooled him, exalted him like Vikramaditya and declared that no other king in world was equal to him (the king of Kurmanchal) and so he should also take active part in the politics of the country. He appointed the Afghan commander Daud Khan as the commander in chief of his indigenous forces and accorded a warm reception to a prince named Sabir Shah who said that he belonged to the family of Timur, and wanted his help. The king gave him a red tent, only given to kings and helped him in all possible ways. He collected 4000 Pathans and rebelling against the emperor of Delhi wanted to seize Rohilkhand. Thereupon the emperor of Delhi sent commander Ajamatulla Khan along with the army to quell the rebellion and ordered to capture Rudrapur and Kashipur and invade Kumaun as well. King Devi Chand at the head of his army proceeded to help Daud Khan, his local commander. Near Nagina there was an encounter with the imperiral forces and before the actual battle Daud Khan, the local

commander of Devi Chand leaving his side made friends with the imperial commander Ajamatulla Khan and taking bribe turned his back upon the king. As a result of this treachery, Kamaunis lost this battle. Daud Khan not only practised treachery but also capturing king Devi Chand wanted to hand him over to imperial commander so that king Devi Chand might disburse the balance of the pay of the forces of treacherous Daud Khan. But he did not succeed in that. King Devi Chand retreated to a temple and feigning ignorance about the treachery of Daud Khan he summoned him to his camp to receive money and taking hold of that clever traitor punished him heavily. Later on the Kumauni forces had to flee to Kumaun. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes about the incident as follows, 'In *shake* 1647 Sabir Shah, a prince of the emperor of Delhi, having fled from there, came to king Devi Chand. On seeing the eccentricity of the king the prince told him that collecting forces they should seize the throne of Delhi. On getting victory a number of regions of the mountain and the plain would be annexed to Kumaun. The prince also advised him to include the Rajputs of Rajputana in this war. Then king Devi Chand wrote a letter to the king of Jaipur that he and Devi Chand both jointly should dethrone the emperor of Delhi. A reply was received from Jaipur as to how much wealth king Devi Chand had. The king of Kumaun wrote to him that he had a deposit of Rs. 3.5 crores with him,. Again with its reply from Jaipur Sri Vishan Das the *vakil* of the king of Jaipur came to Almora to say that without Rs. 7 crores no war could be waged against the emperor of Delhi. Even king Devi Chand at the cost of thousands of rupees made arrangements of tents and *kanat* and conveyance etc. for the prince and declared that since that date the prince was the emperor of Delhi and collecting forces reached towards Delhi. The forces advanced upto Nagina. On seeing the ways of the imperial dominion and forces the king returned to his place and the prince also went somewhere. Hearing the news of such accentric actions and unjust expenses of the king, the Raika king of Doti and the king of Garhwal both made peace between them and attacked Kumaun. Though the king of Kumaun made peace with the king of Doti yet he advanced his forces towards Srinagar plundering Chandpur and Lohaba. But when the winter set in, he leaving the responsibility of the army on the commanders, himself went to the region of Devipur which was founded by him in Kota. There the king had got built a palace for voluptuous

enjoyment where he spent some months in winters during the last three years of his rule. Unresistful of what happened in the world, the king in his *harem* remained engrossed in sexual pleasures.

It was Sri Puranmal Gaida and his old father Sri Manik Gaida who had advised him to go to Devipur that year even abstaining from the battle. Seeing their hold on the kingdom they wanted to kill the king taking him to a lonely place and then themselves became kings. Meanwhile Pt. Bhavanand Joshi of Digoli had some information about it. He secretly told the king that perhaps he might be a victim of treachery in Devipur and so he should be alert. When Sri Puranmal Gaida came to know of it he told the king that if Bhavanand Joshi was deputed to look after the work of copper and iron mines, the revenue of the state will further increase. In this way he withheld the arrival of Bhavanand in Devipur. Puranmal took the king to Devipur. Starting from Almora, they camped at Kakadighat. This place is situated to south of Almora at the distance of 13-14 miles on the bank of Koshi.

77. **The account of Harshdeopuri**

In Kakadighat there lived an ascetic Harshdeopuri, a follower of Shankaracharya. He had great affection for king Devi Chand and addressed him as Debuva. He possessed gleam of penance and was said to possess miraculous powers. He was pleased to see the king and talking affectionately to him said, "O Debuva ! this year bask yourself in Kakadighat, do not go to Bhavar Devipur, as last year you enjoyed a good deal of hunting in Bhavar Bilahari and also you profusely roamed about in the regions of Rudrapur. This year I do not approve of your visit to Devipur." The king looked towards Puranmal and Manik Gaida. They suggested to go to Devipur. The king told the ascetic that he would definitely go to Devipur. Then the ascetic taking out two handfuls of water from Koshi brought it before him and said if he was definitely going to Devipur, he should first drink that nectar and then go. Puranmal and Manik suggested that drinking water given by an ascetic was prohibited. When the king felt hesitant in drinking the water, the ascetic dropped it in the river saying that the fishes would consume the nectar and live long. The ascetic had by feeding fodder to the fishes reared them in that pond and in the noses of many of them had inserted rings of gold and silver, seeing which later on also people called them ascetic Harshdeopuri's fish.

Thus, the king without drinking water proceeded towards Devipur. After the departure of the king the ascetic stood up and raising both his arms up started dancing and singing—

"तू मरि जालेल मेरो क्ये जालो।"

(If you die, how I shall be harmed) and became quite sad. he asked the farmers to dig a ditch for him so that he might take *samadhi*. People warned him saying that if he did so the king would punish him, but the ascetic forcibly prepared his *samadhi* and got prepared for himself new clothes dyed in ruddle. Here the ascetic was ready to take *samadhi* and the king there in Bhavar was basking himself. One night i.e. on the night of Monday the 5h day of the bright half of Falgun, *samvat* 1783 *shake* 1648 *i.e.* 1729 A.D. Manik and Puranmal Gaida taking Ranjit Patauliya into confidence, kicking and buffettering, throttled the king to death while he was sleeping on his bed. In the morning they spread the news that a snake had bit him and in the absence of any successor both these sinful, crafty, treacherous ministers took the reins of the government in their hands. Thus issueless king Devi Chand after eccentrically ruling for 6 years was in this way throttled to death. He spent crores of rupees over devotional worship, alms-giving and pious acts, performed thousands of sacrifices but his end came in this way.

In Kakadighat in the morning (on the previous night when king Devi Chand was brutally murdered in Devipur) the ascetic got up quite early and wept, and began to tell the farmers, "I am going to enter into this ditch, you cover it with earth. King Devi Chand has been, unjustly killed at night, now I shall not reside in the kingdom". The farmers collected there but none dared place earth on the ascetic. When it was one and half *pahar* past day it was seen that two persons had been going to Almora running. The ascetic said, 'If you do not believe in the murder of king Devi Chand, you go to those two persons, the dead body of the king is with them'. The farmers called them loudly and asked who they were. They told that they both were *fulars* and king Devi Chand had died last night and they carried his turban and sword for the queens to commit *sati*. Then the farmers were alarmed and they committing ascetic Harshdeopuri to *samadhi* went to their respective places. The *samadhi* still exists in Kakadighat.

On the arrival of the *fularas* at Almora grief spread all over there. There arose uproar in the *harem* and queens committed *sati*.

During his eccentric rule of six years the king donated a number of fiefs and land in *gunth*, out of them the known ones are noted below :

1. 1722 A.D.	in the name of Jageshvar temple.	
2. 1726 A.D.	" " " " "	
3. 1724 A.D.	" "	Narsing temple of Tikhun.
4. 1725 A.D.	" "	Pt. Prem Vallabh Pant.
5. 1726 A.D.	: "	Bhramaridevi temple.

78. **(55) Raja Ajit Chand**

(1726 - 1729 A.D.)

Thus, killing king Devi Chand the Bishts concentrated all powers in their hands. Now they began to search for a prince or Rautela of Chand family so that installing him as a puppet king might rollick themselves. But the juries decided that in Kumaun there was none worthy to rule over the kingdom of Chand dynasty. The daughter of king Gyan Chand had been married to king Narpat Singh Kathediya of Pipali in Kathed (present Rohikhand), so they procured his son Ajit Singh who happened to be the nephew of the Chands, to enthrone him. They enthroned him as king Ajit Chand and all the powers remained in the hands of Gaidas as king Ajit Chand simply ruled as a puppet. The unjust rule of Puranmal and his old father Manik Chand Gaida Bisht is in Kumaun called as 'gaidagardi'.

79. **Gaidagardi**

Manik and Puranmal Gaida got captured those brahmins whom king Devi Chand had given *dakshina* and donated villages in fief and seized all their *sanads* and tortured them in various ways to get refunded the amount of *dakshina*. All of them refunded all the gold *mohurs*, rupees, ornaments and jewels but in addition their belongings such as utensils and clothes etc. were also confiscated. Then in the court and the villages no sound except that wailing was heard. It is said that a brahmin recited a benedictory verse. The Gaida had read nothing except the alphabet. They said that perhaps that brahmin was abusing them. Thereupon the brahmin recited the *bhagnaula*.

"बांसि जालो स्यूंलो
मुखाड़ि कि बलै लिल्यो
गालि के सुँ दीऊंलो"

As soon as the Gaida heard this he was damn pleased and said, "O Brahmin ! go and in the heap of utensils identify your own." The brahmin being pleased collecting a head-load of utensils from the heap, some of his own and some of others, went his way.

When Gaida had collected the utensils from all over the kingdom, he made a unique arrangement for keeping them. Cash, jewels and utensils were separated and their inventory in duplicate was prepared. They kept one copy with them and the other with those utensils, ornaments and cash and men got them buried at different places in forests. One or two persons who accompanied them as carriers they, too, at the time of closing the ditches were killed and thrown into them so that none other could know where the wealth lay buried. In this way these Gaidas wasted nearly one and half or two crores of rupees of the royal treasury and of the brahmins. It is said that these Bishts had also drowned Sri Bhavanand Joshi of Digoli in the whirlpool of Saryu. Later on the post of Joshi of Digoli was made available by Gaidas to Sri Virbhadra Joshi of Danya.

The following Kathediya kings and princes had come to Almora to participate in the *vratbandh* ceremony of king Ajit Chand held in Almora in *samvat* 1783, from which it is gathered which king then ruled in Kathed. In Kathed princes were addressed as *beta*.

1. King Narpat Singh of Pipali
2. Prince Gulab Singh of Kaimari
3. Prince Suvarn Singh of Amarpur
4. Prince Chaturbhuj of Akbarabad
5. Prince Hari Singh of Udamavala
6. Prince Hari Singh of Sonanagar
7. Prince Bakhat Singh of Sonanagar
8. Prince Hari Singh II of Sonananagar
9. Prince Anand Singh of Srinagar
10. Prince Prithvi Singh of Paridnagar
11. Prince Harirai of Chanchahat
12. Prince Bahuinath of Chanchahat
13. Prince Tejsingh Rathor of Chanchat.

14. Prince Udairaj of Bahipur
15. Prince Ramrai of Banjariya
16. Prince Surath Singh of Ramnagar
17. Prince Bhupati Singh of Nahal
18. Prince Sangram Singh of Lohara
19. Prince Pratap Singh Surajbansi of Beriya
20. Prince Medirai Chauhan of Mav
21. Prince Jagannath Chauhan of Khatgiri.

These kings and princes had come from outside. After the *vratbandh* ceremony all the princes of Kathed went to their respective kingdoms. In Kathed the princes of Pipali and Thakur-dwara, being the relations of the Chand kings, their rank being raised, were called and written as kings and others as *beta* or princes. Only after *vratbandh* king Ajit Chand ascended the throne. Both the celebrations took place simultaneously.

King Ajit Chand was a nominal king. When he was called in from Pipali, he was too young and he ruled only for two years. During the time of the 'ism of Bishts' he had no say. When the subjects told him the story of the tyranny of the Bishts, he diverted a bit of his attention in that direction. The libidinous Bishts corrupted the royal *harem* also because of the fault of Puranmal who had developed illicit relations with a *khavasan* of king Ajit Chand and she also concieved. When Puran Chand came to know that the king had the knowledge of this thing and he was displeased with him, he decided to kill Ajit Chand. In the night of Tuesday, the 7th day of the dark half of *magh samvat* 1785, *shake* 1650, a son was born to the *khavasan*. Then and there Sri Puranmal Gaida and his old father Sri Manik Chand taking gold *mohurs* with them went to the king, made the presents and congratulated the king on the birth of a son to him. The king was already disgusted, their craftiness further fanned his anger. King Ajit Chand was youthful, he could neither check his anger nor could realise that he was simply a prisoner of the Bishts, not a king. Thus, getting angry he spoke out that the son belonged not to the king but to Puranmal who instead of showing him gold *mohurs* should appear before him. No sooner the king uttered the words then these criminals so severely kicked and buffetted the king lying on his bed, that his bones and ribs got

fractured. The king getting unconscious fell from his bed down to the ground. They lifted him and laid him on the bed and circulated the news that the king had an attack of paralysis. A bit later king Ajit Chand vomitted blood and died.This event took place in 1728 A.D.

At the death of Ajit Chand the throne of Kumaun again fell vacant. Puranmal again sent some people of Kumaun to Narpat Singh of Pipali and as king Ajit Chand had died of paralysis requested him to give his second son for being enthroned. But king Narpat Singh had already come to know the true facts that king Ajit Chand was treacherously killed. King Narpat Singh said, "My princes are not goats to be repeatedly offered by you as victims to the goddess of Kumaun." So then the delegates sent by Puranmal returned disappointed from Pipali but the intoxicated Bishts who regarded themselves all in all, seated the eighteen days old (Atkinson writes it as eighteen months, but it does not look correct) illegal and innocent child of the above mentioned *khavasan* on the thorne of Kumaun and propagated his name as Balo Kalyan Chand. Those Bishts had gone so greatly mad with royal power that they started granting fiefs in the name of that minor child.

The juries did not approve of this. All the functionaries of the state assembled. The people of both the factions of Mahar and Fartyal then joined hands. They went to Doti and fetched prince Kalyan Singh, the son of king Udyot Chand for being installed as the king. Formerly being afraid of his brother he had fled to Doti. It is said when they came accross prince Kalyan Chand he was putting on filthy and dirty dress and his beard and moustaches and hair of the head were excresient. He wore shabby clothes. He was found in a pit digging out a wild vegetable *bana tarud.* When prince Kalyan Singh entered the boundary of Kumaun, he came to be called king Kalyan Chand. He was totally illiterate, helpless, poor and maintained himself on daily wages.

80. **(56) King Kalyan Chand (5)**

(1729 - 1747 A.D.)

King Kalyan Chand ascended the throne of Kumaun on Saturday, first day of bright half *Chaitra samvat* 1785 i.e. 1728 A.D. Puranmal and his father Manik Chand Gaida Bisht both, father and

son, together came to the king with presents. They had brutally killed two kings (Devi Chand and Ajit Chand) and all the atrocities they had committed have been discussed above under 'Gaidaism'. People from beforehand had informed king Kalyan Chand about all these things. As soon as the king saw them he ordered that both criminals—the father and son—be killed in his presence. According to his order the executioners then and there killed both of them with a sword. All their sons too were killed. The wife of Puranmal who was in family way was handed over to a *baura* of Kumaun. King Balo Kalyan Chand, the son of *khavasan* was handed over to a Muslim mace-bearer (*chobdar*) named Gumani. In this way Bishts and the oppressors were given exemplary punishment. From the expectant wife of Puranmal a son, who was named Barisal, was born, much of whose property was returned to him by Sri Shivdeo Joshi.

Then king Kalyan Chand started concentrating his mind in the performance of the affairs of the state and to the south of Talla Mahal (where formerly *tahsil* and prison- house existed) he built his four storeyed building. King Kalyan Chand, emerging from the state of acute poverty, had come to own huge property and wield royal authority and now he had developed the madness of blood shed. By killing the Bishts he was not satisfied. He ordered that the members of the Chand family scattered all over Kumaun be either killed or expelled. All the Rautelas residing within the state were traced out and killed. He did so with a view that if the subjects were, at any time, displeased with him, no other member of Chand family worthy to rule, might be left behind. The order of the king to kill all the princes and Rautelas created consternation in the kingdom. From Danpur right upto Kota and from Pali to Kali only wailings and nothing else could be heard. In villages if a man had any enemy he pointed him out as belonging to the Chand family. At this either he was expelled or killed and his enemy grabbed his property by gratifying the officers of the state. Even Rudra Chand in his old age had not committed acts of such oppression as Kalyan Chand (5) had committed. This cruel hearted king, having neither any education nor the administrative experience, it is said regarded these evil acts as virtuous acts.

The king in fact was a first rate fool. His officials or agents by instigating him served their purpose. There were *chalas* no doubt, but not so many as were represented before this fool. And the

officers of this king had so much alarmed him that the poor fellow could not even enjoy his victuals peacefully. His life had become a burden for him. He always pondered and reeled under the shadow of alarm. People feared to go near him apprehending that any body might be killed any moment. The favourites of his time again flung him deep in luxury and also initiated him to consume intoxicants. The king grew negligent and officers did what they liked. They plundered many places, killed many and pulled out the eyes of many.

Owing to the atrocities of the king discontent rose high among the subjects. One day Pt. Bhavanidatt Pande of Bairati, chief officer of the police department, came to the king and informed him that some brahmins and their associates, the *zamindar*, have conspired that the present oppressive king be killed and the prince of king Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur be invited and appointed the king of Kumaun. The king without conducting any enquiry accepted the news as true and according to the statement of the said officer got the people captured and the eyes of the brahmins were pulled out and the *zamindars* were killed and their bodies thrown on the bank of river Ṣual. There they were to be consumed by jackals, kites and crows. It is said that seven *bhadele* (iron pots) were filled with eyes (Atkinson writes seven pots but Pt. Rudradatt Pant says that they were seven iron pots). Among the brahmins the Pants and Joshis of Jhijhad were also included. Many people died at the time of extrication of their eyes. One day when the king's court was sitting, all the government servants, *diwans, bakshis, gurus, purohits,* Pants, Pande etc. and the representatives of the public were present there. When the court adjourned the king addressing Pt. Ramavallabh Pant whose eyes had been pulled out jokingly asked him to wait, as without light how he would go and then ordered a servant to bring a *mashal* (torch). This joke cut Pt. Ramavallabh Pant to quick who said, "O King ! What to speak of *mashal*, even if you set fire to this palace this blind man will get no light. Hearing the rebuke king got ashamed and stood speechless.

In the court as well as in the kingdom of this king the Joshis of Danya held the important post, though Joshis, Chaudharis and Rantagalis of Jhijhad were also being appointed in government service. Kisandeo Bisht, Nand Bisht and Parmanand Adhikari had been appointed ministers by rotation. Sri Sur Singh Bisht and Har

Singh Gusain were appointed *bakshis*. Har Singh Gusain was once appointed a *divan* also. Thus the government servants were repeatedly transferred.

In 1785 A.D. the king sent presents to emperor Muhammad Shah. In response to it *firmans* and robes of honour were received from Delhi.

From among the *Chandels* prince Himmat Singh Rautela from the very beginning had fled to Kashipur and resided there. Some people approached him that they wanted to instal him as their king. When order was given to kill the Rautelas, they being the victims of injustice and oppression had fled to plains. Rohillas have named him as prince Duli Chand. When king Kalyan Chand got the news that prince Himmat Singh had collected forces and was intending to seize the throne of Kumaun he wrote to the chieftain of Kashipur that he should kill prince Himmat Singh Rautela. The chieftain led a military expedition against prince Himmat Singh. In the battle prince Himmat Singh was defeated and he fled to seek shelter with Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan Rohila who sheltered him and promised to help him in all possible ways.

The story of this Ali Muhammad Khan is narrated thus : "One Daud Khan Rohila along with his brothers came to Kathed with an appointment under the king. First he was appointed as a military officer and later on he killed the king and himself became the king. Later on he brought up a son of a Jat of Bankoli and adopted him and named him Ali Muhammad Khan. He died leaving behind his kingdom to him. This Ali Muhammad Khan seized the region of Anvala from the king of that place and continued to extend his kingdom further. The story of the time goes :

"वैसे से ऐसी करी देखो प्रभु के ठाट,
आँवले को राजा भयो बाँकोली को जाट।"

It was he who named Kathed as Rohilkhand. He brought the whole of Rohilkhand under him. He became well known as the *nawab* of Rampur. He started to wage war even against the emperor of Delhi and *nawab* of Farrukhabad.

In *samvat* 1786 the king sent presents to Saadat Khan, the pronvincial *nawab* of Bareilly.

In this very *samvat* princess Kalyan Kunvari was married to Madho Singh Kathediya, the king of Faridnagar. In *samvat* 1788 the king celebrated the marriage of princess Raj Kunvari with king Tej Singh Kathediya with great pomp and show. The following kings had come with the marriage party :

1. King Ram Singh of Kaimari
2. King Daulat Singh of Dhurahi
3. King Bhujbal Singh of Srinagar
4. King Prahlad Singh of Sundarpur
5. King Vishnu Singh of Shahabad
6. King Jawahar Singh of Vilaspur
7. King Santosh Singh of Sahi
8. Rai Shivakaran Singh
9. Prince Matadin Singh etc.

When the Kathediya Rajputs came to the court of the Chand kings to attend celebrations of marriage etc. first they were given money in cash for *jevanar* (banquet). When they came to their meals, a seat (*chauka*) of silver to sit, a plate and ring (*gadawa*) of silver, a dhoti of silk, a shawl etc. were given to them. These things became their own. All the customs were prevalent on account of the relations as of son-in-law and *samadhi*. In 1792 Sri Deva Dunduk, the *vakil* of the king of Uchang and the son of the chieftain of Kardamkot, had come to the Chand king with presents and a letter.

In *samvat* 1793 princess Uchchab Kunvari was married to king Vijay Prakash of Sirmaur (Nahan). When the marriage party was proceeding towards Kumaun, the king of Garhwal tried to detain it. The king of Kumaun sent his forces to the region of Doon and provided protection to the marriage party in every way. When the marriage party reached Nahan from Almora then the forces of Kumaun returned. When an enquiry was conducted in the kingdom of Nahan the following facts, in respect of the marriage, came to light : In dowry an idol of a 24 armed goddess also was received along with the queen. The author had the good fortune of seeing this idol of the goddess. This idol is made of marble and looks very beautiful. Along with it, there is also an idol of Ganesh, which appears to have been carved by the same artist. It is said a *parat* (a

shallow large dish of metal) also was received in dowry, which was first taken to be of brass, but later on when it was known to be of gold, then *haudas* (open seats placed over the back of the elephant) were prepared with it.

In *samvat* 1766 two *vakils* Sri Bandhu Mishra and Sri Laxmidhar Mishra of Pradip Shah, the king of Garhwal, came to Almora with a letter and present. They brought the message of friendly intercourse. A peace was made. They received the reply to the letter and also presents in exchange from the king of Kumaun.

In *samvat* 1798 the *vakil* of Rana Jagat Singh of Udaipur brought a letter and present to the king at Almora. The king gave his reply to the letter and in exchange also sent some Kumauni presents.

In this very *samvat* the king had sent also his vakil with a letter and presents along with the *vakil* of the king of Garhwal to king Jai Singh of Jaipur. The *vakil* returned from there with a letter of reply and presents.

In this very *samvat* Bakhat Ram Joshi, the *vakil* of Rana Jagat Singh of Chittorgarh, came with a letter and presents to the king of Almora.

In *samvat* 1801 princess Sribhaga Kunvari was married to prince Johar Singh, son of Sri Mahendra Singh Kathediya. The marriage party had arrived at Almora with pomp and grandeur.

In *samvat* 1802 Ramkrishna Kavi and Sri Keshavram Kavi, the *vakils* of king Abhay Singh of Jodhpur came to the king of Almora with a letter and presents. It was written in the letter to send 1. *Godanti hadtal, 2. Paigami nausadar, 3. Bugdadi hadtal 5. Sisauna ka vish, 5. Chid ke bij. i.e. Syunta, 6. dadimi. 7. giloy, 8. malu ka tanta, 9. ruchi (?)* for him. King Kalyan Chand sent his reply and also the things he had requisitioned and sent his *vakil Rajaguru* Pt. Radhapati Pande to Jodhpur along with a letter and presents.

In this very *samvat* Raghupati Bisht Saujyal, the *vakil* of Viranarayan Shahi, the king of Lamjung came along with a letter and present to the king of Almora.

Later on Sri Dharmadas Upadhyay, Balkrishna, Kashiram Bisht and Dadhimal Karki, the *vakil* of Surathsai, the king Jumala, came with a letter and presents and also went back with reply and presents.

Now henceforth the account of the kingdom of this king is being given which will show how the affairs of the state were managed. The king felt a bit repentant for punishing innocent persons and so being ashamed he started consoling them and their successors whose eyes had been pulled out or who had been killed. Some were given cash, some fiefs and some appointments in the court. They were re-appointed on their own posts. It was ordered to summon and present an intelligent and competent man belonging to the family of Pt. Laxmipati Joshi of Jhijhad. When Sri Shivdeo Joshi, son of this Joshi, lay hidden in the house of his maternal uncle Pt. Brahmadeo Pande in village Patiya, Sri Brahmadeo Pande took Shivadeo Joshi with him and presented him before the king. The king appointed Sri Shivadeo Joshi as a *kanungo* (*lekhiya*) in the *pargana* of Sabana (Sarbana) under *sardar* Lataula Joshi. This offer of appointment also was only the king's political skill-first, the Joshi of Jhijhad would not accept the post under Lataula Joshi and even if he accepted it he would die of sunstroke and secondly, the news that the king had given him a suitable post would spread in the kingdom. Sri Shivdeo Joshi went to Sabana and started working there as lekhiya under sardar Lataula Joshi. But Latuala Joshi did not want to keep Shivadeo with him apprehending that he might any time grab his post. He was quite intelligent. So one day Lataula *sardar* told Shivadeo Joshi, 'A lion is after this *pargana*. There is the order of the king that the subjects be saved from it. You Joshis of Jhijhad call yourself brave, make arrangements to get the lion killed". While Shivadeo Joshi and a brahmin along with him under compulsion was going to that *pargana*, a lion appeared on the way and suddenly seized the brahmin. Shivadeo was riding a pony. The pony at the sight of the lion having thrown Shivadeo Joshi on the ground ran away. When the lion pounced upon Shivdeo Joshi he inserted a naked dagger into its chest which led to his death. He cut off its head and took it to *sardar*. He was greatly amazed to see him come back alive though he had thrown him into the mouth of death. *Sardar* Lataula thinking that if the correct news about the killing down of the lion would reach the court it would be regarded as the bravery of Shivadeo Joshi and so he wrote to the court that he himself had killed the lion but when the king got the correct news, he dismissed Lataula *sardar* and appointed Shivadeo Joshi as the *sardar* of Sarbana. He made this *pargana* highly prosperous. Some time a certain Joshi of Galli had also worked well in the Bhavar.

Shivdeo built a fortress and a building in Sarbana whose ruins still exist. The king appointed in his court Pt. Hariram Joshi of Jhijhad.

During the period Pt. Ramdatt Adhikari was the officer of *Kota-ki-Mal.* He informed the king that prince Himmat Singh Rautela was staying with Ali Muhammad Khan. The king ordered *haidiyas* the watchmen of Bhavar, that they should go to Badaun in cognito and kill prince Himmat Singh. Accordingly the *haidiyas* went to Badaun and killed Himmat Singh. When this news reached *nawab* Ali Muhammad Khan, he decided to seize the kingdom of Kumaun as its king had got killed Himmat Singh who had taken shelter with him. Forces began to collect to invade Kumaun but the king of Kumaun paying no heed to it and leaving himself in the hands of his servants remained engrossed in the enjoyment of pleasures under the influence of intoxicants. He cared a fig for the kingdom and justice but spent his precious time over such petty matters as are noted under.

Pt. Ramapati Joshi, an astrologer of village Mala, was a great astrologer. He prepared the horoscope of the *katada* of his buffalo. It was written in it that it would live long. Some one passed on this news to the king. The king ordered the *Shudras* to bring it and kill it before the goddess. They went to village and purchased it at a handsome price from the cowherd. Owing to night fall they camped in a village. The villagers exchanged this sturdy *katada* in lieu of high price and a lean and thin *katada.* The *Shudras* thinking that the king did not recognise the *katada* in their lust for money accepted it. The king got the *katada* killed and then summoning Sri Ramapati asked him if he had prepared his horoscope and noted thereon his inflated age. At first the astrologer felt a bit shy and evaded the matter, but later on when the king insisted, he told him the true facts. The king said that the *katada* had been killed and asked him why he had prepared wrong horoscope. Thereupon the astrologer said that the *katada* whose horoscope he had prepared would not have died on any account. On enquiry when the astrologer was found correct he was rewarded and the *Shudras* were punished.

This astrologer got a post in the court. One day the king telling him that he was going to hunt, asked him if he would get a

hunt. The astrologer said that a wild deer (*kankad*) bearing white tika would be available. The king killed a wild deer bearing *tika* in the forest. It is said that wild deers bearing *tika* are generally rare.

The body of the king had grown quite bulky and heavy owing to which his eyes could not see the second day moon. The astrologer through *nalika bandhan* showed him the second day moon from a balcony. Being pleased at these things he clothed him with valuable clothes and ornaments that he himself wore and also decorated him with a head ornament named *Surat*, owing to which the astrologer came to be named as Suratiya Ramapati Joshi.

The king was under the affect of *shanishchar* (*sadhe sati*). To save the king from the influence of *sadhe sati* the *guru* of the king said that he would worship and perform *jap* (silent repetition of *mantra*) of *shanichchar*. But Shivaram Pande, the family priest, weilded a great influence in the court. He told the king to perform the worship himself. The king accepted his proposal. The king going beneath the Pipal tree near the temple of Laxmeshvar Mahadeo performed the worship there and also circumambulated the Pipal tree 108 time as well. All the officers such as *guru*, *purohit*, *dharmadhikari*, *pauranik*, *wazir*, *bakshi*, *divan*, *daftari* and officials of the army accompanied the king. One day it so happened that when the king accompanied by his officers was circumambulating, in the meantime; the king's *guru*, his back turned towards the king, had gone asleep on a slab of stone. The priest said, "*Gurujee*! Now you should also follow the king in circumambulation." The *Rajguru* said, "I am old in age and also weak, so let me sleep."

The priest took it ill and intended to get the king displeased with the *Rajguru*. He again and again asked him to circumambulate and also told the officers to ask him to do so. Then the *Rajguru* being excited said, "This fellow is not a king at all, but an ox yoked to the *kolhu* of Shivram Pande circumambulating like this. This is the way of the afflicted widows who just worship the gods and afterwards circumambulate them for the welfare of their sons and daughters-in-law. The king does not possess the information about his kingdom but remains engaged in such petty jobs. Had be been a competent king, he would have punished the rogues and administered his kingdom." Hearing this heart rendering and arrow

like pinching words of *Rajguru* the priest reddened with anger. When he came to the court, he angrily spoke to the *Rajguru*, "I don't take cognizance of many of your actions. You should not utter such silly words in respect of the king.! The *Rajguru* replied, "O great king ! This is the duty of the kings to condone the faults of brahmins and you should not get so angry. But for this you are not at fault. This is perhaps the effect of *maduva* (millet) that you might have eaten in Doti." The king hearing this abuse kept quiet.

Such incidents normally took place but recording them here is not desirable. But we mean to say that the king was totally ignorant about the state affairs. He did not even know whether it was day and whether it was night. The officers always according to their sweet will utilized him for their gains and then took it for granted that they would ever enjoy their life in this way.

81. **Invasion of Rohilas**

Here the king was plunged in deep slumber and there the forces of *nawab* Ali Muhammad Khan made an attack on Kumaun. Further the forces of Mansur Ali Khan, *nawab* of Awadh seized the regions of Bilari and Sarbana. *Nawab* Ali Muhammad Khan outwardly wanted to invade Kumaun under the pretext of the death of Himmat Gusain but his real intention to annex this mountainous part to his kingdom was to possess a safe place to flee to in emergency. He had not also forgotten the death of Daud Khan. So he started making hurried preparations for invasion. King Kalyan Chand when surrounded by enemies on all the four sides, realised a bit that he had created a number of his enemies by his carelessness and oppressive measures. He also decided to reform the administration and also dismissed his old officers. He delegated full rights in Tarai to Pt. Shivdeo Joshi. He made Ramdatt Adhikari and Hariram all in all in Kota Bhavar and Almora respectively, yet there was no dearth of sycophants and craftty persons in the royal court.

In 1743-44 A.D. Ali Muhammad Khan sent his three well known commanders, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Painda Khan and *bakshi* Sardar Khan at the head of 10000 forces to invade Kumaun. Kalyan Chand was in a danger. The *nawabs* of Anwala and Awadh had

turned enemies. The king of Doti secretly was vexed at heart owing to the fact that his one simple subject had become the king of Kurmachal. In the meantime, the Rohillas arrived all of a sudden.

Ramdatt Adhikari informed the king about this and on the other side Shivadeo Joshi demanded money, so that he might collect forces and making fortifications check the Rohilas from entering into Kumaun. The officers of the court misinterpreted it before the king and said, "Shivadeo in demanding money for himself. He had to pay a huge amount to the Gusains. Rohilas can not enter Kumaun." Men of Fartyal faction taking money from the king blocked the roads with wooden logs, broke the bridges and said to the king." All the *gauns* and *galyats* have been closed. How can an enemy enter into this Kumaun which is as natural fort." The king was pleased to hear all this, but only a few wooden forts have been set up on the routes.

Rohillas defeated Shivadeo Joshi at Rudrapur, compelled him to take shelter in the fort of Batokhari (near Kathgodam) and leaving behind his representative in Rudrapur Hafiz Rahmat Khan himself pursued the fleeing Kumaunis and captured Vijaypur in *pargana* Chhakhata below Bhimtal. Hearing the news the king sent his forces but as soon as an encounter took place at Vijaypur the Kumaunis had to flee and the enemies pushing them came upto Kumaun via Ramgad, Pyuda and river Sual. The fleeing Kumauni forces, as it were, acted as a guide. Being an old man *kakshi* Sardar Khan stayed back in Budakhori. Hafiz Rahmat Khan came to Almora. King Kalyan Chand without giving a fight fled away and took shelter in Gairmanda near Lohaba. From there he sought the help of the king of Garhwal.

The Muslims coming to Almora demolished all the temples, broke the idols and slaughtering the cows spread the blood in the temples. All the idols, waterpots and utensils made of gold and silver were melted and the neighbouring regions were mercilessly plundered. People leaving their houses fled to the forests. They were greatly pained and perturbed. Broken idols found in such places as Lakhanpur, Dwara, Bhimtal, Katarmal, Almora etc. were those damaged by the Rohilas. It is said when the Rohilas went to Jageshvar and Bhramaridevi perhaps there '*tatayyas*' tortured them so much that they had to return and thus the temples were saved.

Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was greatly pleased at this victory of Sardar Rahmat Khan. As present, he sent excellent things. The Rohilas set fire to government offices and records. So it has become difficult to get material for the history of Kumaun. Some facts could be gathered from a few papers available from private residences.

Many of the Rohilas could not bear the climate of this place in winters. Shivadeo taking some forces form Sarbana, opposed the Rohilas in Baurarau but later on he too had to flee to his king in Gairmanda. A few days later the king of Garhwal agreed to help the Kumaunis. Both the forces came to the east and captured Dunagiri and Dwara, but then Rohilas were camping in Baurarau and Kaidarau. There they defeated the forces of both the Hindu kings and plundered their camps. The Rohilas then threatened to invade Srinagar. At this time there was correspondence from both the sides and terms of peace were settled. The king of Kumaun paid Rs. 300000/- in cash. The king of Garhwal gave this amount as a loan from his treasury. But it is written in the biography of Rahmat Khan, the condition was that the king of Kumaun should pay Rs. 600000/- as annual tax and the king of Garhwal not help the king of Kumaun and king Kalyan Chand be dethroned and another king enthroned in his place. Whatever the fact, it is said, on the acceptence of these terms the Rohilas living in Almora for seven months went away leaving behind a part of their army in Badakhori.

Even on the return of Rohilas with loads of wealth, *nawab* Ali Muhammad Khan was not happy. As we have already said, he wanted to annex Kumaun to his kingdom so that in his bad days, God forbid, if he suffered defeat at the hands of the emperor of Delhi, he might come and take shelter here.

Pradipt Shah, the king of Garhwal, escorted king Kalyan Chand to Almora and leaving him here himself went back. A 'deed of honour' (*dharmpatra*) was signed between both the kings.

King Kalyan Chand got repaired all the damages caused by the Rohilas to palace, temples and forts. Collecting the people he expressed his great repentence before them and promised to remain attentive in future. The people, that had fled away, returned to their respective hearths.

82. Second attack of Rohillas

On the suppression of their forces by emperor Muhammad Shah in 1745 A.D. the Rohilas raised the might of their forces which was stationed in Badakhedi under the command of Najib Khan and sent some more forces to Kumaun via Kali and Koshi because *nawab* Ali Muhammad Khan wanted to annex Kumaun to his kingdom. The king summoned Shivadeo Joshi and said to him, "You had told me earlier if there be sufficient money and forces, you would drive away the Rohilas." Shivadeo at the head of the forces proceeded towards Mal. Hariram Joshi also accompanied him. The Rohilas attacked Kota along with a contingent of the forces, Shivdeo along with his forces camped in the fort of Barakhodi. In 1745 A.D. the battle began from the morning and it continued for three *pahars*. In the beginning they used rifles but later on swords and daggers. The mountainous forces raised lamentation among the Rohilas. They were unable to stay. Many of the Rohillas were killed and the remaining fled away. Those Rohilas also who had ascended via Kali Kumaun, Koshi and Kota, hearing the news of the defeat of Najib Khan took to their heels. It is said when *nawab* Ali Muhammad Khan asked them the reason of their defeat, they said, "In the battle people of three cubits fought with swords of four cubits."

Rohillas were afraid of coming to mountains. They were forcibly sent here. Last time during winters they died in good number. Even now their graves are found here and there. Out of the Shudras residing in Digoli, some say, "We are the descendent of Rohilas, their ancestors married and settled down here."

Recollecting the last excesses of the Rohilas the Kumaunis also fought desparately in the second battle so that Rohilas entering Kumaun might not trouble them again. So the second time the Kumaunis drove way the Rohilas.

The Rohillas not only brought disturbances in Kumaun, but in Kathed also. The Hindus of this place also lodged their complaints in the Mughal Court. King Kalyan Chand also sent his *vakil* Pt. Shivaram Pande to emperor Muhammad Shah. After hearing every thing from the *vakil* of Kumaun, the emperor himself said that he would himself go to Rohilkhand at the head of his forces and punish Ali Muhammad Khan and expel him from Hindustan. As soon a this

order was given, the imperial forces set out. Pt. Shivaram Pande, the *vakil* of Kumaun and Ranpat Rai the *akhbarnavis* informed Kalyan Chand, the king of Kumaun, about it. A torn page of moun-tain paper of the diary of the king of Kumaun has came to our hand, in which the facts about the imperial forces are noted as follows :

'On the 5th day of *baishakh sudi shake* 1667, emperor Muhammad Shah came to Ganga *uttari* Rohila Marnasu. *Fauj divan* Kamaruddin Khan, Hajari Mansur Ali Khan. *Funj jama* :

		She, he-goat	50000
Horse	150000	Gun	800
Elephant	1100	Gadi	10000
Camel	40000	Chariot	2000
Man	130000	Gaudvail (?)	30
Fakir Mangata	75000	Chariot of elephant	02
Beldar	1000000	Palaki	400
Ass	50000	Bahili	50000
Cow-buffalo	700		
Donkey	1500		

This army was a huge one. it assembled in Sambhal. Hearing the news of the arrival of the emperor of Delhi to Sambhal, king Kalyan Chand also decided to go to him with his request. There was shortage of money in the royal treasury. The Rohilas had plundered away Rs. one crore and had demolished all the temples, palaces and court buildings. The king taking a loan of Rs. three lacs from the king of Garhwal had any how dismissed the Rohilas. So the king appropriated all the ornaments, jewels and utensils of gold and silver belong to the temple of Jageshvar. *Asharfis* and rupees were manufactured from gold and silver. The king placed there handnote in respect of borrowing the things. He proceeded towards his kingdom via Chhakhata. In Gajuvathinga *bakshi* Shivadeo Joshi also met him. He gave his presents and conveyed to him in detail the news of the victory in the battle against the Rohilas. The king was pleased to hear all this. He granted Shivadeo Joshi the 'robe of honour' and the post of minister and asked him to accompany him. The king reached Kashipur via Kota. For king's security and respectful reception, imperial *wazir* Kamaruddin Khan sent there

50 horsemen and 50 foot-soldiers.they welcomed the king in the military fashion. The king was pleased. All the way long they accompanied and guarded him. From Kashipur the royal entourage reached Rustambag of Moradabad via Faridnagar, Udamavala and Bijana. At these places he happened to meet the Kathaediya Rajputs also. From there the king encamping at Muhammadpur reached Sambhal the next day. Here he met Ranpat Rai, the *akhabarnavis* and the next day he met his *vakil* Shivaram Pande in Sikandarpur. From Sikandarpur the king went via Gudhari to Shahjadpur and from there reached the bank of Lahariya Sot. The emperor encamped there. King Kalyan Chand accompanied by *bakshi* Shivadeo Joshi went to meet him. The meeting could be materialised through *wazir* Kamaruddin Khan. The present consisted of *asharfis*, plates of gold and silver, *chanvar, nirbisi, musk, kuhi, kohala, baj, jurra,* elephants, horses, skin, dagger, *khukhari* etc. The emperor consoled him. From there he went to the camp of *wazir* and thence to his own camp.

Wazir-e-Ajam Kamaruddin Khan and *nawab* Mansur Ali Khan had formed near Bangarhi an entrenchment of the imperial army against the Rohillas. The next day *nawab* Mahsur Ali Khan along with *sardar* Nawal Rai demolished the entrenchment of Rohillas. At night guns were frequently fired. But they were simply to frighten the enemies. None was killed in it. Next day a dreadful fight took place. Ali Muhammad Khan was captured along with Paide Khan, Dunde Khan, Fatah Khan and Jaisingh Rai. Imperial order was issued that they should leave the country. At the place where the imperial army was encamping, there was a river named Lahariya Sot, the water of which served the need of the whole army. So the emperor conferred on it title of '*Yar vafadar dalthamman sot.*'

Later on the encampment reached Bisauli. There the king met Nizamuddaula, the son of *wazir* and Mir Mannu as well. The king after meeting Kabil Rai went to the bank of Garhmukteshvar where he met the emperor second time. The emperor accepting presents from him and granting him 'robe of honour' and a *firman* of confirmation of his right and possession on Tarai Bhavar (Mal) bade him farewell. After this the king was also bade farewell by *wazir* Kamaruddin Khan. The king and the Thakurs of Kathed also got back their provinces. *Nawab* Mansur Ali was encamping across the Ganga. The king did not meet him because there existed discord

between *nawab* Kamaruddin and *nawab* Mansur Ali Khan. He only sent some articles to him throgh his ambassador Pt. Harihar Pant. This displeased *nawab* Mansur Ali Khan and he started saying the king of Kumaun met the *wazir* but did not meet him. The king entertained a doubt in his mind that if he meets him the *wazir* might be displeased. Emperor returned to Delhi and the king of Kumaun to his kingdom.

When the king came back to Bhavar (Mal) he immediately brought it under his possession and appointed *wazir, bakshi, divan* and army commanders. The former *jagirs* were restored and new ones further granted. Shivadeo Joshi was entrusted with the management of Bhavar Tarai (Mal). After making all arrangements the king came to Almora. When the king had come to Almora, Shivaram Pandit came to him with the letter of Sahu Maharaj of Sitargarh. This very Pandit had come with the letter of provincial governors such as Balaji Sawai Bajirao, the chief *pradhan* Malhararao Holkar, Amtritrao and Shankararao etc. The aim of all the leaders of Maharashtra was to organise the Hindu states against the Mughal emperor. It appears that the reply given was against and inconsistent with the Marathas. The aim of the king in doing so was that Kumaun had been standing in good relation with the emperor of Delhi, so they were not in a position to fight against them.

When *nawab* Mansur Ali Khan reached from Delhi to his province of Awadh, he immediately annexed the *pargana* of Sarbana to his province under the pretext of arrear revenue. But the main reason behind this was that the king of Kumaun had insulted him by not meeting him in Garhmukteshvar. So getting angry he seized the *pargana* of Sarbana. Shivadeo Joshi entertained prolonged correspondence but the *nawab* of Awadh did not answer even. On the other hand he instructed *chakaledar* (an officer who has the charge of collecting revenue in landed property) Tejugaud to surrender Sarbana on no account. So Shivadeo Joshi decided to fight against Tejugaud. Shivadeo Joshi was wounded and captured. For one year he was kept imprisoned in Faizabad (in the book *Shahar Bangala* this is written). When the matter was represented before the emperor a *firman of Chashmanumai* (*i.e.*, the *nawab* of Awadh was urged to return the *pargana* of Sarbaha and release Shivdeo Joshi from imprisonment) in the name of *nawab* was received from there. Then the *nawab* set Shivdeo Joshi free but

wrote to *chakledar* Tejugaud not to give the possession of Sarbana. Shivadeo Joshi when set free came to Mal. There he built one fort in Rudrapur and another in Kashipur and in both of them stationed army and military officers. He appointed on behalf of the Chand king, Badavayak Kaum as the *zamindar* of the *pargana* of Bilahari, Sarbana and Dhaner and returned the certificates of *zamindari* of Bhavar and Kali Kumaun which was given to Lul Kaum (Jolyal ?) and employed them in the cultivation and protection of that region. To save the region from thiefs and robbers he settled down afresh the Bhavar Hediyas and the Mewatis. He caused the bestowal of fiefs and fixed their commission. Till now the Tanda of the Hediyas is well known. After making such arrangements Shivadeo Joshi came to Almora and informed the king of all the facts. The king gave him a number of villages of Pahad and Mal as *that* also the *zamindari* of Kashipur and Rudrapur.

In the meantime king Kalyan Chand developed some eye trouble. it is said that both his eyes bulged out. This made him quite sad. He thought that he had got killed a number of Rautelas and Gusains of Chand family, got pulled out the eyes of so many officers and brahmins, killed so many persons and seized the property of many. The trouble came to him in this old age as the result of all these. King Kalyan Chand's son prince Deep Chand was a bit dull so apprehending that he might hatch a conspiracy against him, he summoning him placed the prince in his lap and said, "I hereby entrust my son and the kingdom to you; either you eat up my kingdom or feed my son. If you intend to appoint my son as a king give me 'word of honour." It is said that on this Shivadeo Joshi took an oath." O Greatest king I and my descendants would maintain your son and his descendants on the throne, whosoever will oppose, shall be punished. People said that as the king had pulled out the eyes of the brahmins, so he had gone blind. In 1747 A.D. the king entrusted the affairs of the State to prince Deep Chand. But on account of his minority (under-age) he appointed Pt. Shivadeo Joshi his guardian.

This king was very fond of residing in Binsar. In summers he went there. He also built a palace and a temple there.

After spending his days in oppression, carelessness and pleasures king Kalyan Chand thought of atonement. He took

shelter with the priests and started pleasing gods in various ways. Copper plates of his time are known till now.

1. 1731 A.D. *gunth* in the name of the temple of the Jageshvar.
2. 1731 A.D. *gunth* in the name of the temple of Jageshvar.
3. 1731 A.D. *gunth* in the name of the temple of Jageshvar.
4. 1731 A.D. *gunth* in the name of the temple of Vriddhakedar.
5. 1731 A.D. *gunth* in the name of Ganesh, Almora.
6. 1731 A.D. *gunth* in the name of Ghatotkach temple, Kali Kumaun.
7. 1732 A.D. in the name of the family of Pt. Gangadatt Joshi
8. 1733 A.D. Baleshvar temple, Champavat.
9. 1733 A.D. in the name of the family of Pt. Kulamani Pande.
10. 1733 A.D. in the name of the family of Pt. Vishnudatt Joshi
11. 1734 A.D. Nagnath temple Champavat.
12. 1734 A.D. Kshetrapal temple, Baurarau.
13. 1734 A.D. Bhuvaneshvar temple, Gangoli.
14. 1734 A.D. Punyagiri, Talladesh.
15. 1736 A.D. Ghatotakachh temple, Kali Kumaun
16. 1737 A.D. Shitaladevi temple, Baurarau.
17. 1740 A.D. Kalika-Shitla temple, Dwara.
18. 1744 A.D. Badrinath temple, Garhwal.
19. 1745 A.D. Kedarnath temple, Garhwal.
20. 1746 A.D. in the name of the family of Devidatt Chaudhari.

This king built the temples of Ambikadevi near Binsar Mahadeo and Nayal Pokhar and installed the idols there.

83. **(57) King Deep Chand**

(1748 - 1777 A.D.)

King Kalyan Chand died in the very beginning of 1748 A.D. That very year Muhammad Shah, the emperor of Delhi as well as Ali Muhammad Khan, *nawab* of Anvala also died. At the time of ascending the throne Deep Chand was quite young. So while dying king Kalyan Chand summoned Shivdeo Joshi and entrusted Deep

Chand to him and also delegated all the administrative powers to him. Shivdeo Joshi, in lieu of gold and silver, which king Kalyan Chand had taken while going to Delhi, gave eight villages to Jageshvar temple and all the lands which Kalyan Chand had seized were returned to their owners. He appointed Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi as his representative in Almora and himself went to the plains to manage them. There he resided in Rudrapur and appointed Hariram as the governor of Kashipur, but when the latter failed to discharge his duties properly he appointed Sri Shiromani Das a *sanadhya* brahmin of Bajpur as the lieutenant governor of Kashipur.

At this time the emperor of Delhi sent missions on all the four sides to accompany him in his encounter against the Marathas. So in 1761 on the occasion of the third battle of Panipat a Kumauni force of 4000 soldiers was sent under the command of commander Hariram and deputy commander Birbal Negi. In Panipat the Kumaunis had to fight against the Marathas with that Hafiz Rahamat Khan, the commander of Rohilkhand who had invaded Kumaun in 1743-44 A.D. But in Panipat both the Kumaunis and Rohilas fought together. Najibuddaula, *nawab* of Saharanpur and Najibabad also participated in this battle. So for some days Harsh Deo (son of Shivdeo) acted as the administrator of Najibabad. With 500 soldiers he protected Najibabad and the imperial palace there. On the return of *nawab*, he received the 'robe of honour' and then came to Almora along with his soldiers.

In the battle of Panipat when a contingent of horsemen of Marathas attacked Inayat Khan, son of Rahmat Khan. Kumauni commanders Hariram Joshi and Birbal Negi opposed them. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "Kumaunis fought with a weapon known as *ban*, by being hit by those *bans* the *vyuh* of the Marathas was scattered and about 5-6 hundred soldiers were killed. The sound of this weapon like the roar of a lion or the thunder of cloud, came to be heard by the emperor. When asked, people told him that the commanders of Kumaun were fighting, they are using mountainous weapons. The emperor was damn pleased." Atkinson writes "Mountainous soldiers fought bravely and particularly in fights with rockets and hand-grenades they displayed their skill well."

In 1762 when the war ended the emperor of Delhi expressed his desire to see the Kumauni leaders but owing to his old enmity

(with Kumaun) Rahmat Khan did not like it to materialise. Giving them his turbans he already sent them back and sent a *jaridar* (woven with threads of gold) turban and a 'robe of honour' for king Deep Chand as well. When asked by the emperor he told him that the mountainous leaders went away earlier owing to heat. The emperor sent an elephant named Makana, ornament, *parachas* and many other things from the booty.

King Deep Chand was quite sociable and kind natured. Francis Hamilton writes in his *History of Nepal* "King Deep Chand was dumb. Queens and officers looked after every thing. Owing to the conspiracy of the queen Mohan Singh became a dictator." In some records it is written that king Deep Chand was a 'lump and flesh' but he met everyone with great affection.

Every man who met him, was pleased with his behaviour. He accorded warm hospitality. Atkinson writes, "But he was entirely in the hands of the priests. The reins of government had been taken into their own hands from the beginning by Shivdeo Joshi and Harshdeo Joshi. The practice was prevalent among the Joshis that they had made all high offices ancestral and as far as possible they kept all the powers of government in their own hands. The priests, *divans* etc., greatly exploited the king. As such people earned a lot of money and received *jagirs*.

Mr. Traill, the commissioner of Kumaun, has prepared the following list of 36 fiefs which were granted from 1749 to 1774 A.D. during the time of king Deep Chand:

1. 1749 A.D. in favour of Badrinath temple.
2. 1752 A.D. Kedarnath temple
3. 1752 A.D. Jageshvar temple
4. 1752 A.D. Jageshvar temple
5. 1753 A.D. Bageshvar temple
6. 1754 A.D. Budha Jageshvar temple
7. 1755 A.D. in the name of the family of Vishnudatt Joshi
8. 1755 A.D. Badrinath temple.
9. 1755 A.D. Gananath temple.
10. 1756 A.D. In the name of the family of Beniram Upreti.

11. 1756 A.D. Budha Jageshvar temple
12. 1757 A.D. Narayan temple, Lakhanpur
13. 1757 A.D. Jageshvar temple.
14. 1757 A.D. In the name of the family of Vishnudatt Joshi.
15. 1758 A.D. Jageshvar temple
16. 1758 A.D. Panyagiri temple
17. 1758 A.D. Pinath temple
18. 1759 A.D. Jageshvar temple
19. 1759 A.D. Nagnath temple
20. 1759 A.D. Kalikadevi, Gangoli.
21. 1760 A.D. Kedarnath temple
22. 1760 A.D. Udheshvar temple, Salaṁ
23. 1760 A.D. In the name of the family of Devidatt Tewari
24. 1763 A.D. In the name of the family of Pt. Jairam.
25. 1764 A.D. Kalika Shitala temple, Dwara
26. 1765 A.D. Jageshvar temple.
27. 1766 A.D. Jageshvar temple.
28. 1767 A.D. Bhimeshvar temple, Bhimtal
29. 1768 A.D. In the name of the family of Pt. Gangadatt Joshi
30. 1769 A.D. in the name of the family of Pt. Krishnanand Joshi
31. 1770 A.D. In the name of the family of Pt. Radhapati Bhandari
32. 1771 A.D. in the name of the family of Pt. Rewadhar Joshi
33. 1772 A.D. in the name of the family of Pt. Shivashankar Tewari
34. 1772 A.D. Kalika temple, Gangoli.
35. 1773 A.D. Bhalneshvar temple, Baurarau.
36. 1774 A.D. in the name of the family of Kamlapati Upreti.

No other king granted so many fiefs. Whosoever pleased the king he granted him a fief. First the king had a few intelligent ministers with whose good advice he administered but later on when crafty and selfish advisers came, the king got helpless. Neither

he himself was an able administrator nor he had the ability to distinguish between good and bad. He was a simple and gentle man. He accepted whatever one said.

In 1762 there was peace and order in the country. These days the population of Mal had increased. Forts were built in Kashipur, Rudrapur and Bajpur. Forces were stationed in them. Since the battle of Panipat the relation of king Deep Chand with Hafiz Rahmat Khan, *nawab* of Rampur, had changed. Now he was not on inimical terms with the king of Kumaun. Owing to fighting jointly in the battle of Panipat friendship, instead of enmity, had evolved. Nazib Khan, *nawab* of Najibabad, was kind because with a contingent of 500 soldiers Harshdeo Joshi had protected his place and family. Further the word of honour had also been given to *nawab*, that if the emperor was defeated and the Marathas got victorious in the battle of Panipat, the family of Najib Khan would be safely escorted to Almora. Intimacy existed also with Dunde Khan, the *nawab* of Moradabad. Shivdeo Joshi always toured Mal (Tarai-Bhavar) and in addition to superintending decided cases also. Soldiers belonging to distant regions were recruited in the army. For example (1) Jambals and Dongras of Jambu (2) Nagarkotiyas of Nagarkot, 3. Guleriyas of Gular and (4) Thakurs of Badhpur. So the craftness of Rohilas had been much reduced.

Seeing this peace, order and relief in Tarai imperial subjects and the residents of the province of Lucknow had fled to this place. Many people had come here to save them from the tyranny of Nadir Shah, depredation of the Marathas, and imposition of forced labour (*begar*) and *jaziya* tax by the emperor. Cultivators such as Tharu, Bogsa, Badavayak lived here from before. The new comers such as Thakur, Katheriya, Suraki, Chauhan, Jat, Ahir, Ghosi, Taga, Kamboh, Khagi, Lodha, Banjara, Gujar etc. beloaged to Hindu community. Turak, Pathan, Ranghad, Mullajade, Rai etc. belonged to Muslim community. Taxes in cash were not levied on them by the king ; only one-sixth of the produce per harvest was realised. When there was no yield in the field the king exempted them from his share. For this work there were money–lenders in the region of Kashipur and in Rudrapur seven monastaries of Lakhpat Gusain. Their agents collected the share of the king from the tenants and deposited its price in cash in the royal treasury. In times of poverty

they also helped the tenants. For this reason many people had come and settled down even in this place which abounds in diseases.

The climate of Kashipur was better than that of other regions of Tarai Bhavar (Mal). It was for this that Shivadeo Joshi generally resided in Kashipur all the twelve months. He sometime went to Almora. In rainy season the climate of this place got bad. Mosquitoes troubled a lot. This resulted in a number of diseases, so many officers went to hills. Hariram Joshi lived in *danda* located between Shyamkhet and Bhimtal. it is even now called the Bunga of Hariram.

84. **Revolt of Fartyals**

The reins of the government were for long in the hands of the Maharas. This displeased the Fartyals. They also decided to get their share in the state administration, because the king lived under the control of the man who any how secured the post of the Prime Minister. The Fartyals wanted to enthrone prince Amar Singh Rautela. Shivdeo Joshi severely suppressed this revolt. Many people were killed and Amar Singh fled away. Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi got displeased with Shivdeo Joshi on some point. He belonging to Mahar faction joined hands with the Fartyals and going to Pradipt Shah, the king of Garhwal, instigated him to invade Kumaun. King Pradipt Shah came to Juniyagarhi which was under his jurisdiction. From this side king Deep Chand and Shivadeo Joshi encamped at Naithana of Palla Dora. The forces of Kumaun captured Jaspur, but King Deep Chand sending his *vakil* to the king of Garhwal to ask him the reason regarding the unprovoked attack on Almora. The king of Garhwal putting the reply in black and white sent the letter to him through the *vakil* Dharamdhar that as king Kalyan Chand was his co-brother so Deep Chand happened to be his newphew and wrote : (1) If king Deep Chand accepting him as his uncle wrote Jaideo in his letter, (2) accepted Kamganga as the border between Garhwal and Kumaun and (3) surrendered the captured regions of Garhwal, it was the best course, otherwise the king of Garhwal would capture the whole of Kumaun.

A letter was sent from the side of Kumaun that since then in every correspondence between the two kings, the word 'Jaideo' would be written. All the captured region of Garhwal would be surrendered but on no account Ramganga would be the border. Pt.

Dharnidhar Ojha, *vakil* of Garhwal, also accepted these terms. The king had given many things to this *vakil* but he did not accept them. When the *vakil* told all the things to the Garh king, he suspected if the *vakil* had not sided with the Kumauni king because the *vakil* had said that the facts of Kumaunis were correct. Even then the Garhwali king attacked Kumaun at the suggestion of his advisers. A fierce battle waged near Tamadhaun. Four thousand Garhwalis and many soldiers were captured among whom Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi, who was wounded in the battle, was also one. The commander in chief of Garhwal king *sardar* Narpati Singh Guleriya was killed. About one-thousand and five hundred of his soldiers fell in the battle-field. A order was proclaimed in the camp of king Deep Chand that the soldiers who would cut off heads of Garhwalis, would be awarded a gold *mohar* for each head. In this way many *mohars* were distributed. Later on the soldiers began to bring many non-soldiers and coolies. So this order was cancelled. The king of Garhwal became nervous and fled. Shivdeo did not chase the fugitive king, so he reached Srinagar. It is said that the Garhwal king ashamed at this defeat stopped wearing '*nega, kalangi* and pearl'. He took a vow that he would not wear these ornaments until he would annex the Kumaun kingdom to Garhwal. He wrote a political letter to the king of Kumaun that Shivdeo Joshi had done a great religious work and an act of great bravery in not chasing the king of Garhwal. In this he had followed the rules of religious battle. The king of Kumaun and the *wazirs* did not like these flattering words. They wrote that he had written a proper letter but it did not appear proper that he had made the pledge not to wear ornaments like *nega, kalangi* and pearls. The talks of cordiality and friendship are proper when the king wears these ornaments. King Pradipt Shah understood all these hints. He again wrote a letter that he wants to change turban with king Deep Chand. Then *wazir* Shivdeo Joshi sent *nega, kalangi* pearl and turban of king Deep Chand through his two sons Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi and Pt. Hariram Joshi. King Pradipt Shah wore these and sent his turban etc. to king Deep Chand. In this way mutual friendship was established by the exchange of turbans. After this king Pradipt Shah wrote to Pt. Shivdeo Joshi that he would not be satisfied unless he exchanges his turban. So he sent his turban to him. In return Shivdeo also sent a turban.

In this way a peace was made between the two kings. The subjects of Kumaun and Garhwal lived for sometime in peace and comfort. King Kalyan Chand had got pulled out the eyes of Sri Kantu Joshi of Jhijhad and confiscated all his property. So being afraid of him, his son Jaya Nand Joshi fleeing from Kumaun had taken shelter with the king of Garhwal. He also participated in this battle, rather it appears that it was on his and Jaikrishna Joshi's advice that king Pradipt Shah had invaded Kumaun. When peace was made he also getting his case recommended by Pradipt Shah wanted to return to his homeland. Shivadeo Joshi also accepted his prayer and allowed him to come to Almora.

Undoubtedly peace was made with the king of Garhwal, but domestic disputes arose again in which almost all the main functionaries were killed and in 1790 Gorkhas got an opportunity to invade the kingdom of Kumaun and capture it. There was mutual enmity between Shivadeo Joshi and Hariram Joshi. Shivadeo Joshi had appointed him as the governor of Kashipur but he did not discharge his duties and so he was removed from this post. He had not forgotten this matter. In the meantime one more incident took place to promote the mutual discord between Jaikrishna Joshi, son of Shivadeo Joshi and Jairam Joshi, son of Hariram Joshi grew so fast that it turned into serious hostility. This hostility between the two sons reached their fathers. Simple domestic quarrel turned into nation-wide battle. The subjects and the functionaries also got divided into two groups. It is said that Hariram Joshi wanted to take Shivadeo Joshi's post of minister and *bakshi* for himself. He declared that king Deep Chand was on his side. He appointed some Kumaunis and some Thakurs, collected an army and challenged Shivadeo Joshi either to resign his post or fight with him. It is said that consecutively seven battles were fought between the two Joshis in Mal or Tarai Bhavar. Two battles were won by Hariram Joshi and the rest five by Shivadeo Joshi. In the last battle fought in Bansulisera at the confluence of Ganga and Dosandhgad; Hariram Joshi's son Jairam Joshi, the root-cause of this struggle, was killed. About 1500 soldiers were killed. The remaining forces ran helter-skelter, never to assemble again. Hariram Joshi being helpless came to Shivadeo Joshi and begged his pardon. Shivadeo Joshi said that this matter would not be decided without arbitration. Both the Joshis went to the region of Rudrapur and appointed Hafij Rahmat

Khan, *nawab* of Rampur, the arbitrator. The *nawab* decided in favour of Shivdeo Joshi and compelled Jairam to sign a bond that in future he would remain under the authority of Shivdeo Joshi and would never raise a quarrel or rebellion. Later on Shivdeo Joshi again appointed Hariram Joshi on the chieftainship of Rudrapur and thence Hariram Joshi did all the work with true loyality.

At Delhi on the death of emperor Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah ascended the imperial throne. At this tine the Rohilas captured some parts of 'Mal'. Shivdeo Joshi at the head of the army went there and released it. Owing to the decision of the *nawab* and this victory Shivdeo Joshi again became all in all in the kingdom of Kumaun and his enemies also went on increasing. But he crushed them ruthlessly and owing to this the number of his enemies grew still more.

Shivdeo Joshi by making peace with and establishing family relations with *nawabs* of Najibabad, Bareilly and Moradabad and with the rulers of the regions of Beshahar, Sirmaur, Garewal, Doti, Bajang, Jumala etc. checked occurrence of even a single disturbance in Kumaun. But owing to his policy of suppression or factionalism of the Fartyals and the Mahars domestic quarrels again began with quickness.

Atkinson writes, "The people conspirating against Shri Shivdeo Joshi were the Fartyals of Kali Kumaun and their principal leader was Shri Raimall Budha of village Chauki. He wrote a letter to his friend in Kashipur that Shivadeo Joshi should be assassinated. This letter fell in the hands of Shivdeo Joshi. He, therefore, came to Almora. There he found the Joshis of Danya also involved in this conspiracy.

Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "The *tahsils* of certain *parganas*, were under the authority of the Joshis of Danya. They grabbed themselves the amount they realised. Out of it they had been giving something to the factions of Fartyals so that they might give help in the proper time. So the army did not get its pay. When the army began to besiege the court, Shivdeo Joshi sent reminders to the agents of Danya to deposit the government money. They got displeased and instigated the faction of Fartyals to hatch conspiracy against Shivadeo Joshi. In the faction of Fartyals there was a *budha* named Raimall Bora of village Chauki in Kali Kumaun. He wrote a

letter to his companion in Kashipur to hatch a conspiracy against Shivdeo Joshi. In Kashipur after reading the letter he threw its pieces here and there. Out of those pieces one piece on which was written '*ka*' came into the hands of a Pande of Mahara faction and recognising the letter told Shivadeo Joshi to get up from his deep slumbering, '*ka*' of Raimall Bora has arrived here. Later on all the pieces of the letter were found and placing them together Shivdeo Joshi read the whole plan of conspiracy against him and then came to Almora.

Having arrived in Almora, when Shivdeo Joshi at night was going to ease himself (*jajrur*) he saw a man standing there with a sword in his hand. When he challenging him asked what was the matter, then out of fear he confessed that he had come to kill him; he had been deputed by the Fartyal faction. Shivdeo Joshi snatched his sword and drove him away.

'One day when Shivadeo Joshi sat in his house, *sardar* Kishan Singh Negi accompanied by a number of soldiers came. Out of them was also the Joshi of Danya. He sat near Shivdeo Joshi. The soldiers stood in the line. He had also won over to his side some soldiers of Shivdeo Joshi's side. The game of chess began. It is said that *sardar* Kishan Singh had already given indication to his soldiers that when he remarked '*mat hogai*' they would kill Shivdeo. Once accidently Kishan Singh gave out "My *bakshi* ! I shall outdo you." Shivdeo replied that the *sardar* had no capacity to outdo him. Hearing these words the soldiers were a bit surprised. Shivdeo thought why *sardar* Kishan Singh was indulging in such humiliating talks. Shivdeo turned his eyes towards Sumer Adhikari, guessed that there was some conspiracy. He asked aloud as to who were the servants of the king there. The soldiers spoke out 'present sir'. He ordered to arrest the chess-players. Joshi of Danya was thought to be the ring leader of the three conspiracies. All the Joshis of Danya working at different places were captured and brought there. When they appeared Joshi of Digoli, to take revenge of the time of Gaida, packing a number of Joshis of Danya in sacks drowned them at the place named Balighat of Sarayu-Ganga above Bageshvar and the soldiers who had participated in the conspiracy were hanged."

It appears that Shivdeo Joshi had gone mad on account of the conspiracies of the Fartyals. He was no doubt an intelligent and

able administrator but was also highly cruel. He captured the ring–leaders and simply putting up a show of a suit hanged them all. The cruel way in which they were hanged shall make the black pages of the history of Kumaun all the more black in the same way as the highly awful incident of pulling out seven potful of eyes of the Mahars.

The rebel leaders were brought to Kalighat near Saryu and after tying down their hands and feet and then packing them in sacks were thrown alive in the Sarayu-Ganga from above the cliff. In history stories of greatly heinous crimes are read but it can not be said whether or nor there would be another instance of such a great brutal incident.

Owing to this dreadful suppression the movement outwardly was quelled for the time being. Enemies got terrified, but the fire of discontent smouldered. Preparations were on to take revenge. The news of this tyranny spread far and wide. it is said that even Shivdeo Joshi, the perpetrator of this barbarous tyranny, for some time was highly perplexed. When his obloquy and ill-fame spread all over he set others, taken to be rebels, free; refunded their property and wanted to console them in every way.

The old man, Raimall fled across Doti. Other Kumauni Fartyals, his associates, also fled here and there. He summoned them all, made arrangements for the salvation of the Joshis that were drowned; also gave back their property and helped their successors, but their inner jealousy was not removed.

Jaikrishna Joshi and Ana Chaudhari who had instigated Pradipt Shah, the king of Garhwal, to invade Almora, going to Purnagiri, started looting the pilgrims to that place thinking that with the money so looted they would collect an army and kill Shivdeo Joshi. But Jaikrishna Joshi became mad and died. Ana Chaudhari became a leper, he kept wandering in the Siddhavani of goddess Purnagiri and died there.

Shivdeo Joshi rewarded Sumer Adhikari in a special way. He was a valiant soldier. He built two temples (1) The temple of Pataldevi in Almora and (2) the temple of Vishveshvar *alias* Vishvanath on the bank of river Sual. The temple of Pataldevi had ruptured but the Gorkhas built it up anew. The temple of Vishvanath still exists.

Even after perpetrating such dreadful atrocities on the subjects Shivdeo Joshi carried on the administration with dignity as simple and straight forward king. Deep Chand favoured him. On one side he got fiefs in Tarai-Bhavar and on the other he got village Gangola Katuli in Malla Syunara and a number of villages in Baramandal and also certificates. The copy of the certificate is given here :

85. **Copy of a Copper plate**

"महाराजाधिराज श्रीराजा दीपचंददेव ज्यू तमापत्र करी बेर शिवदेव जोइसी माल परबत जागीर बगसी, बारामंडल स्यूनरा का गरखा में विशि २० गंगोला कोटुली थात करी बगसी, मुडिया का परगना में मौजे देहरी दुली बगसी, इन गाउन लगतो गाड़-घट, लेख, इजर, धुरा, डाँडा, सुद्धा पायो, रोहिला ले माल टिपी लिछी, हमरा घरका मानस रोहिला मिली रछया, रोहिला की फौज कुमाऊं लवाई ल्याछया, अमरुवा रौतेला राजा करी ल्याछया, गोलौली ली लडई भई, इनले तन दियो माल बटी फौज ल्याया गोलौली रोहिला की फौज जो कुर्मौ का रोहिला संग जाई रछया तन संग लड़ाई मारी, येक दिन में आई बेर लड़ाई मारी, फते करी, हमरो राज तनले कायम करो, फिरी आजी मानसन लै चालो उठायो गढ़वाल का राजा प्रतीपशाही लवाई ल्याया जुनियाँ में प्रतीपशाही औठ लाख गढ़लीबेर आयो, हमरा राज्य का मानस और कुमयाँ जँ लवाई ल्याछा तीं लग गढ़वाल का राजा सँग लड़ाई सुं आया, तमाढौड ली लड़ाई भई, शिवदेव जोइसी ले अपने जीउ, धन लायो लालच किछु बात कौ नै करो, गढ़वाल की फौज मारी गढ़वाल को राजा भाजी पड़ो, डेढ़ हज़ार गढ़वाल मारो पड़ो, फते करी, तै दिन लग हमरो राज कायम करो रोहिला ले माल टिपी लीछी, रोहिला सँग सलूक करी बेर माल छुटाई तै रोत को गंगोला कोटुली दुली देहरी, सर्वकर अकर करी बगसो, बड़ो-खड़ी अलीमहम्मद को जमादार नजीबखाँ चार हज़ार फौज रोहिलान की ली बेर लड़ाई सूं आछयो हमरी तरफ शिवदेव जोइसी हाजर की सिपाही ली बेर लड़ाई सूं गया, फते भई, रोहिला मारो, कोटा की तरफ को रोहिला को थानु उठायो, ये बात की रोत यो जागीर सही राखी, गंगोला-कोटुली को सेरुक, म्वाल, बहादुर, गरखा, सरह सर्व तोड़ी दीनो श्रीमहाराजाधिराजा श्रीराजा दीपचंददेव ज्यू की संतती ले भुचौणो शिवदेव जोइसी की संतती ले भुचणो जो कोई राजा येशी रोत की जागीर ले, तै राजा कन तैका इष्ट देवता की दश हज़ार दुहाई शाके १६७७ ज्येष्ठ अधिमास सुदी ६ शनौ मुकाम राजापुर लिखित स्वयं कंडारितं भगीरथ कटोई शुभम्।।"

"Those days the kingdom of Kumaun had reached its zenith. It was well-known in countries far and wide.

The king of the state of Jumala died and his queen gave birth to two sons at a time, who in Kumaun are called *jounlya* (twins). Which one out of the two shall become the king, this could not be decided in Jumala. So a letter came to the king of Kumaun as to what was to be done in the matter. Shivdeo sent a written decision and it was done accordingly. Between the twins the earlier-born is regarded younger (?) and later born elder.

86. **Shivdeo killed**

Pt. Shivdeo Joshi after making arrangement of the mountains and leaving his elder son, Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi, in the service of the king himself went to Kashipur. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "An old woman said to Shivadeo Joshi in dream that one and half lacs of rupees lies buried in such and such place, dig it out, but spend the money over some religious work. If any one meets his personal expenditure with it, it will not be well, not be good. In the morning Shivdeo got the place dug and got the total amount. He brought it and kept it in his fort and ordered that the said amount would be spent over religious works. He entrusted that amount to his personal treasure. Later on Pt. Madhusudan Pande of Patiya, the government treasurer of Tarai-Bhavar having coaxed another treasurer, brought the amount of one and half lacs under his possession and placed in the treasury a written agreement that till the religious work did not begin he would invest the amount in business and would return it when the religious work began. This Madhusudan Pande collected two-three lacs rupees for him." It is not known if Shivadeo Joshi or Madusudan Pande again spent this amount over religious works or not.

When Shivdeo Joshi was in Kashipur, one day he was performing worship. Four-five hundred soldiers besieged him on all sides. He had many enemies. On account of his policy of suppression he had created not one but any enemies. Shivadeo Joshi explained a lot but no one paid any attention to it. The conspiracy was devised with such ingenuity that no help from any side could reach Shivadeo Joshi. So Shivdeo Joshi being helpless himself taking a sword swooped on those soldiers but to oppose such a big army was not a joke. He fell down wounded and was killed along with his two sons Jaideo Joshi and Harnidhi Joshi. That day his third son Harshdeo Joshi was present in that very fort.

Fortunately he was saved. Then all his property, wealth, bag and baggages were confiscated and documents were all looted away. Many of them were hidden or lost by the managers. Thus Shivdeo Joshi after holding a number of important posts and remaining all in all in Kumaun for 18 years in the time of king Deep Chand and for 12-13 years in the time of king Kalyan Chand was killed on *paush sudi*, 11 *samvat* 1821 i.e. 1764 A.D. After this very incident Hariram Joshi also died.

From this day the powerful kingdom of Chand dynastry virtually came to an end. In Mal or Tarai-Bhavar, the rule of Chand kings practically ended. In the mountain also a kind of uproar arose. A number of conspiracies were devised to uproot the Chand dynasty and the Chand rule dwindlled and so every one did what he liked.

सर्वे यत्र नेतारः सर्वे पंडितमानिनः ।
सर्वे महत्वमिच्छन्ति तद्वृन्दमवसीदति ।।
अनायका विनश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति बहुनायकाः ।
स्त्रिनायका विनश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति शिशुनायकाः ।।

This statement of the science of government is true. The society where all are leaders, all regard themselves as scholars and all want to be important that society perishes. In the same way the society that is leaderless, the society that has many leaders, the society where women are the leaders and the society where children are the leaders, perishes. The same was the fate of the kingdom of the Kumaun. When after the death of Shivadeo Joshi the chief queen of king Deep Chand had also died, his second queen Sringarmanjari wanted to appoint herself as the *bakshi* and *wazir*. She issued orders under the seal of Deep Chand's son who was born a few days back. She interfered in the management and administration of each and every affair of the state.

Previously Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi was carrying on the administration for the last two or two and a half years. She started obstructing his work also. When he expressed his resentment, she apparently told him and Pt. Harshdeo Joshi that they should treat the *mukhtari* in Kumaun kingdom as their own in place of their father.

When the Joshi brothers told the queen that they were working according to the orders of the king, the queen was greatly

displeased that they had undermined her orders. Owing to the birth of the prince the queen had lost her senses. She had overawed king Deep Chand as Kaikeyi had overawed Dasharath.

For about one year she treated the state functionaries as puppets. When the Joshi brothers did not obey her orders she asked prince Mohan Singh Gusain to accept the post of *bakshi* and carry on the administration. She outwardly said that the experience of state services he possessed, was sufficient but inwardly she started interfering. Later on she appointed Parmanand Bisht as the *divan* which dipleased prince Mohan Singh Gusain because Parmanand Bisht was said to be a paramour of the queen. So Mohan Singh envied him. The king, on the other hand, regarded the Joshi brothers-Jaikrishan Joshi and Harshdeo Joshi—as the chief officers. This displeased the queen and prince Mohan Singh both. Both the Gusain brothers—prince Mohan Singh and prince Lal Singh, who had played an important role against the Joshi brothers, during the last days of the rule of the Chand dynasty, fled to the *nawab* of Awadh in Mukam Bangala *alias* Faizabad thinking that taking help from *nawab* they would capture the kingdom of Kumaun. In the meantime there were two groups in Kumaun : king Deep Chand, Jaikrishan Joshi and Harshdeo Joshi were on one side and the queen, her prince and the so called paramour Parmanand Bisht were on the other side. Atkinson says that the queen had made herself so powerful that she wrote to Hafiz Rahmat Khan Rohila, *nawab* of Bareilly and Rampur, to relieve Vijaykrishn Joshi from the post of *wazir*. It is also said that Hafiz Rahmat Khan on the advice of Jodh Singh Kathedi (who was a favourite officer of the *nawab* and whose son was married to princess Rajkuvari, daughter of king Deep Chand) wrote to Pt. Jaikrishan Joshi to obey the orders of the queen. It is said that at this Jaikrishna Joshi was so much displeased that he resigned from his post and leaving Almora went elsewhere. The queen offered the post of *bakshi* to Mohan Singh and appointed prince Kishan Singh, the bastard brother of the king as the prime minister. The paramour of the queen Parmanand Bisht was appointed the viceroy and prince Jodh Singh Kathed, the administrator of Kashipur. In this way the party of the queen got strong. Later on Parmanand Bisht informing the queen dismissed prince Mohan Singh.

Here it is necessary to give some account of prince Mohan

Singh and prince Lal Singh Gusain. It has been already written that as king Trimal Chand had no issue, Baz Bahadur Chand, son of prince Nil Gusain, had become the king. One of his issues was prince Harsingh Gusain. When king Kalyan Chand, after ascending the throne, wanted to exterminate the Rautelas, he asked prince Harsingh Gusain also as to what was in his mind. It is said then Harsingh Gusain, God knows, by saying what he satisfied king Kalyan Chand and the arbitrators of the state that he and his issues would not be the claimants to the kingdom of Kumaun and thus, they got exemption from being killed. Later on he got two sons—prince Mohan Singh was elder and prince Lal Singh younger. Prince Harsingh Gusain, as was customary, was given village Simlakha and seven other villages in fief. By them he maintianed himself. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "On the death of prince—Harsingh Gusain Shivadeo Joshi brought up both the princes—Mohan Singh and Lal Singh along with his own son. Those days Harshdeo Joshi and prince Lal Singh were fast friends. After the death of Shivadeo Joshi both the princes Mohan Singh and Lal Singh Gusain maintained themselves from the fief of Simlakha and presenting themselves in the court of Almora, *Hasba Mamul* Gusains served the king, but their home was in Simlakha."

Mr. Batten regards prince Mohan Singh as the spuriously descended cousin of Deep Chand and Mr. Atkinson regards his grand father prince Pahad Singh, as the son of the concubine of Bazbahadur Chand and none contradicts this statement, but Pt. Rudradatt Pant regards him as a Rautela.

Prince Mohan Singh with the help of Dundi Khan, nawab of Bisauli (who envied the interference of Rahmat Khan, *nawab* of Rampur, in the affairs of the Kumaun) collected an army of Rohilas and Kumaunis and coming to Almora imprisoned both king Deep Chand and queen Sringaramanjari. Pt. Rudradatt Pant says, "Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi and other *bakshi*-brothers wrote to prince Mohan Singh to come to Almora and not to plot against the state, both the Gusains would get maintenance from the court. So both the Gusain brothers—prince Mohan Singh and Lal Singh—came there and took over the total administration of the kingdom into their hands from the hands of Joshi brothers." But this thing does not appear to be correct because *bakshi* brothers and Gusain brothers both were at daggers drawn and both of them had been fighting against each

other. Whatever the fact, prince Mohan Singh made himself all in all in the court of Almora. The mother of Mohan Singh and queen Sringaramanjari were somewhat related. So the queen asked prince Mohan Singh to look after the affairs of the state but not decieve her princes, then he would be given the chief post of the state. The queen asked for his word of honour on this point. When prince Mohan Singh touching the *juda* of the queen took an oath that he would be loyally serving king Deep Chand and her issues, she entrusted all the work into his hand. Prince Mohan Singh made himself so powerful that he succeeded in killing Parmanand Bisht, the so called paramour of queen Sringarmanjari and his deadly enemy. When prince Mohan Singh had escaped this Parmanand was for sometime *bakshi* (i.e. commander) also. Gaining strength on his success and being confident about the fact that queen Sringarmanjari was plotting against him he entered into the *harem* and taking her by her hair threw her down in the courtyard from the two-storeyed building and she died. In this way died Sringarmanjari, greatly greedy of royal power.

At this Harshdeo Joshi informed *nawab* Rahmat Khan, the commander of Rohilkhand, that the situation in Kumaun was bad, the aged king Deep Chand is a puppet in the hands of his courtiers. He called down the sons of Shivdeo Joshi and conferred with them to oust Mohan Singh from Kumaun. On the death of the queen prince Kishan Singh also fled to the plains. With his help Pt. Harshdeo and other Joshis invaded Kumaun and compelled prince Mohan Singh to flee from Almora. Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi also told *nawab* Rahmat Khan that he would help king Deep Chand but he should get the wealth of his father's time which Shiromani Das, the manager of Kashipur, had grabbed. When face to face, Shiromani Das pressed by the *nawab*, surrendered sixty thousand rupees. He had come to the Joshi brothers with his army. Prince Mohan Singh and Lal Singh first went to Jabit Khan. Some say that they had gone to the camp of the Marathas and later on took shelter with the *nawab* of Awadh.

King Deep Chand was damn pleased at this political change. He wanted to give two main posts in the administration to Harshdeo Joshi and his brother Jaikrishna Joshi and made prince Kishan Singh the viceroy, but Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi refused to work with Kishan Singh. Pt. Rudradatt Pant says that owing to his victory

in the battle he was so happy that he aspired much. He got desirous not of *wazarat*, but of the kingdom. So the posts of prime minister and of *bakshi* were combined and Pt. Harshdeo Joshi accepted this combined post. He got *firman* and robes of honour for both the posts. Harshdeo appointed a Bisht of village Chapad as a deputy *wazir* and Pt. Laxmipati Joshi, son of Pt. Rudradatt Joshi of Selakhola, as deputy *bakshi*. Pt. Shiromani Das of Bajpur was now made the *divan* as he had helped in the battle against prince Mohan Singh. He was appointed as the permanent governor of Kashipur and also received the fiefs seized from prince Mohan Singh and was given eight villages in Mal as well. Monorath Joshi, son of Hariram Joshi, was appointed as the *sardar* of Rudrapur. And thus, apparently a model of permanent and good government was installed both in the mountains and the plains. A few days later *divan* Shiromani Das died. In his place his son Nand Ram became the governor of Kashipur. In collaboration with his brother Hargovind, he decided that as disorder was stirring up in the kingdom, so this was a good occasion for establishing an independent state for himself so that his descendants might live happily. He procured some recruits from Nagarkot and himself recruited some youngmen. In this way he raised a good force and sent an application to the *nawab* of Lucknow that he would deposit the revenue of his region in the treasury of the *suba* of Awadh and he be regarded as the confirmed *zamindar* of Tarai. Hearing this treasonous talk Joshi brothers-Jaikrishna and Harshdeo went to Kashipur and fought against Nand Ram. Being defeated he fled to Moradabad. Jaikrishna took the treasury under his control. Harshdeo came back to Almora, Nand Ram bringing forces from Moradabad took possession of Kashipur.

Being tired of exerting himself uselessly in the court of the Marathas and the *nawabs* and spending time in vain in the heat of the plains and in foreign lands, prince Mohan Singh wrote to both Joshi brothers Jaikrishna Joshi and Harshdeo Joshi to get them pardoned by the king and allow them to come to Almora. He also got his case recommended by many persons. In Almora almost all the people were fed up with the maladministration of prince Kishan Singh because this fellow was the private adviser of the aged king and a secret ruler. Pt. Harshdeo sent evasive and diplomatic reply but his brother Jaikrishna wrote him to come. Prince Mohan Singh

who excelled the diplomats of Kumaun, while coming to Kumaun from the plain having met *divan* Nand Ram in Kashipur had made a secret peace with even that deceitful and crafty man and told him, "Friend, if I am firm-footed I shall procure you a permanent post in Kashipur, you will be the ruler of plains and I of mountains."

Just on his arrival in Almora prince Mohan Singh, was so over-awed that with the consent of Joshi brothers he laid his hands on all the powers of the government. They remained on their posts but only advised prince Mohan Singh in the affairs of the state. This clique stood unrivalled in the history of Kurmachal. Prince Mohan Singh was from the very beginning against Joshi-brothers, but now all the three intriguers, but keenly intelligent politicians, by whose ill counsel, bad policy and bad administration Kumaun had become dependent, it was really astonishing to see had got united like Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. When the trio so advised, Pt. Jaikrishna Joshi proposed to bring Tarai again under the kingdom of Kumaun and also put the proposal of expelling crafty Nand Ram from Kashipur. Prince Mohan Singh not only seconded these proposals but also promised to help with men, money and ammunitions and asked Jaikrishna to immediately proceed for the battle. Though prince Mohan Singh from beforehand had also made a secret peace with Nand Ram, even then he sent him a sealed letter that he should be alert in all respects. As soon as Jaikrishna Joshi reached there from Almora along with his forces, he found in Halduva, between Chilkiya and Kashipur, the forces of Nand Ram ready to fight and well-arranged in all respects. Jaikrishna Joshi had to flee to the mountains. Nand Ram fixed Halduva as the border of Kumaun. He issued a proclamation that the rest of this region was under the jurisdiction of the *nawab* of Awadh. Jaikrishna began making his force ready to fight against Nand Ram.

In this encounter Jaikrishna was defeated and prince Krishan Singh, brother of Deep Chand was killed. From this strategy prince Mohan Singh was benefitted in many ways. Both the Joshi brothers severed. They were called king-makers. Prince Mohan Singh so moved that Harshdeo fleeing from Almora had to seek shelter in Pali. Old and unfortunate king Deep Chand was as good as a prisoner in the hands of prince Mohan Singh. So prince Mohan Singh sent king Deep Chand and his two sons Udai Chand and Sujan Singh Gusain—to the royal prison of Sirakot. Mohan Singh

thought that the time of his ascending the throne had come but before doing so he wanted to made his position stronger in Almora. For this it was essential to annihilate the influence of both the Joshi brothers— Jaikrishna Joshi and clever politician Harshdeo Joshi. But this was not possible without murdering both or either of them, so prince Mohan Singh went to village Kumkhet of Kota below Gagar and summoned Jaikrishna to his camp with the intention of making a joint attack on Nand Ram. Firstly, shrewd Jaikrishna did not turn up but when a quarter more shrewd Mohan Singh entreated him in so many ways, he came to Kumkhet. Then prince Mohan Singh in his camp entangled him in highly pleasant talks and while talking hinted, as decided earlier, the executionists to murder Jaikrishna. Khushat Jat seized him and with a sword severed his head from his trunk. Some fularas were also a party in the murder. Wrapping the dead body in a shawl threw it down from the mountain. This happened in 1777 A.D.

In this way having killed poor Jaikrishna prince Mohan Singh came to Almora. Accidently Pt. Harshdeo Joshi also had come to Almora from Pali. When prince Mohan Singh captured him also and was about to sentence him to death, prince Lal Singh, brother of Mohan Singh recommended his life term imprisonment instead of hanging. He did so because prince Lal Singh and Pt. Harshdeo were friends.

87. **King Deep Chand Killed**

At the end of 1777 A.D. king Deep Chand and his two sons who were political prisoners in a fort of Sirakot, died or were killed. It is said that food served to him was quite meagre and bad. Dust was mixed with flour. When they demanded tobacco leaves, the jail employees spit on their palms. In this way the poor, old and weak king died in a state of agitation and restlessness like Shahjahan.

When king Deep Chand was killed, prince Jodh Singh Kathediya, on the advice of some Kumaunis, brought his son prince Shubhkarn Singh, the son-in-law of king Deep Chand upto Kashipur but at the hint of prince Mohan Singh, Nand Ram gave him no help and so both the father and son went back.

Two things more worth noting happended in the days of king Deep Chand :

1. Anand Kunvari, daughter of prince Mohan Singh was married to prince Deep Sain, son of Kridam Sain, king of Doti.

2. The daughter of Kridam Sain, king of Doti, used to go to Lalit Shah, king of Garhwal in the form of *Dola.* The kingdom of Kumaun lay in the middle. To avoid the emergence of any clash, Aniruddh Panderu, the *vakil* of Doti, went to Garhwal. From there came the *vakil* of Garhwal and from here Pt. Madhusudan Pande, the *vakil* of Kumaun, all assembled. Among the three states a *dharmpatra* was written. Then the *dola* went to Garhwal.

88. (58) King Mohan Chand

(1777-1779 A.D.)

After planning so many murders, at the end prince Mohan Singh made himself a king named as Mohan Chand. His coronation took place with great pomp and show. Money was also liberally spent on propititiatory offerings. Ten copper plates of his time of only two years of rule have been found—

1. 1777 A.D. *Gunth* in the name of the temple of Jageshvar
2. 1777 A.D. *Gunth* in the name of Jageshvar temple
3. 1777 A.D. *Gunth* in the name of temple of Sitaladevi, Athaguli
4. 1777 A.D. In the name of the family of Pt. Radhapati
5. 1777 A.D. In the name of the family of Sri Hussainbakṣh
6. 1777 A.D. In the name of the temple of Patal Bhuvaneshvar of Gangoli.
7. 1778 A.D. The temple of Nagnath, Champavat
8. 1778 A.D. The temple of Kapileshvar, Dug
9. 1778 A.D. The temple of Kalika, Gangoli
10. 1778 A.D. The temple of Bhatneshvar, Baurarau.

From this it appears that king Mohan Chand also was as anxious to please priests and gods as his ancestors. He appointed prince Lal Singh, his brother and Madhusudan Pande, a *Naulakhiya* Pande of Patiya, as his minister. Sri Pande had been a contractor and cashier of Naulakha Mal from the time of Shivdeo Joshi and he

was called *Naulakhiya*. It is said that he also lent rupees one lac to king Mohan Chand. King Mohan Chand wrote to Nand Ram that since then the region of mountains belonged to him (Mohan Chand) and the region of plains to Nand Ram. So Gularghatti was fixed as a border between the two regions. But Nand Ram did not care much for the order of Mohan Chand. He went to Lucknow and making peace with *nawab* of Awadh he decided that he would deposit the rental in the treasury of Awadh, *Nawab* of Awadh would give him military help when needed. Nand Ram was appointed on behalf of *nawab* as the *sadar amin* of Tarai. Thus gathering strength Nand Ram wrote to king Mohan Chand to tell Manorath Joshi to hand-over the fort and the region of Rudrapur as well to him. Mohan Chand wrote to Manorath Joshi likewise. Manorath Joshi refused to do so, rather he got ready to fight against Nand Ram and Mohan Chand both. But Nand Ram played another trick. He told Manorath Joshi, "He is the external friend of king Mahesh Chand, but if you and I, his internal enemies join hands, we may drive king Mohan Chand, who has captured the throne of Kumaun, away from the throne. Now all the Chands have become extinct, now Joshis alone will ascend the throne of Kumaun." Poor Manorath Joshi got entrapped in the alluring and pleasant proposal of Nand Ram. He along with a small contingent starting from Bajpur went to Kashipur to meet Nand Ram. There he was deceitfully killed by that crafty gambler Nand Ram. Nand Ram captured the region of Rudrapur also in the name of the *nawab* of Awadh. Thus in a way ended the rule of Kumaun over the regions of plains. This thing relates to Tarai, not to Bhavar. Bhavar was ever in the possession of the Kumaunis.

Nanakmata and Bilari were mortgaged with the Pathans of Bareilly. Both of these *parganas* and *pargana* Sarabana as well passed into the hands of the *nawab* of Awadh. Till 1802 A.D. the *nawab* was the master of Tarai, later on the whole region passed into the hands of the English. Then king Shivalal, nephew of Nand Ram and son of Hargovind, was *sadar amin* of Tarai. Kilpuri remained for long in the hands of the Kumauni landlords but later on this also passed into the hands of the *nawab*.

Pt. Rudradatt Pant says, "Nand Ram looted all the belongings of all the mountainous brahmins, rajputs and farmers etc. who were relatives and followers and lived in Mal. *Charai* on cattle, *chanti* on

the tenants and fresh taxes of different sorts. He misappropriated also a part of offering to gods, yet his *theka* was not fulfilled." A number of displeased tenants leaving Mal (Tarai-Bhavar), went elsewhere.

But Mr. Batton has praised the management of Tarai in the time of Nand Ram and Shivlal. "Except that of the police, the management of all other matters was good. There were innumerable thiefs and plunderers, their number being not less even during the rule of the English. In the regime of Nand Ram and the Nand kings there was more population in Tarai. The *guls* (small canals) and canals were everywhere in good number. Great attention was paid to bring out canals from the banks of so many rivers. Forests were oleaned owing to which the climate also was quite different from that of the present. Then this rental also was very high. Though there exists no particular evidence in respect of these things, yet common people say so. The cultivators of this place are Thadus and Boksas. The region of Tarai is under their cultivation. They do not live at one fixed place but are wandering heither and thither. From the time of establishment of the British rule good cultivators went to regions of plains. The reason behind the fall of income and cultivation as well as (in the opinion of Batton) bad management and such others disputes in respect of landlordship, mismanagement of the police and slackness of the English settlement officers etc." This report was prepared by Batton in 1844 A.D.

In the time of king Mohan Chand several people of Kumaun once made ready a Sheikh to invade Kumaun at the head of forces constituted by some Muslims. They came via Vananidevi. A battle was faught between Sheikh and king Mohan Chand in a fortress above Bakh. The Sheikh lost the battle returned to the plains.

As has been said earlier king Mohan Chand had managed to ascend the throne after driving away all the friends and relations of Shivdeo Joshi. Laxmipati Joshi also, who was a deputy of Harshdeo Joshi, was killed in Almora near a pine tree although he was summoned at the orders of the king. On account of these incidents cry was heard : 'save me, protect me'. Some people leaving the mountain fled to plains and settled down there. Some returned and some not.

89. Garhwal Conquered Kumaun

Pt. Harshdeo Joshi was undergoing life term. But he was a greatly wise man. He sent secret letters to both, the king of Doti and the king of Garhwal. All the subjects were displeased at the bloody rule of king Mohan Chand. The leaders of the people also sent letters to these kings that king Lalit Shah should invade Dvara via Lohaba. His army was under the command of Prempati Khanduri.

Regarding the capture of Almora by the king of Garhwal, Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "In the time of king Mohan Chand Lalit Shah, son of king Pradipt Shah, was on the throne. When the letter of Harshdeo Joshi reached there. Pt. Jayanand Joshi also was present there. King Pradipt Shah had formerly set him free on the request of Shivadeo Joshi but when Mohan Singh had decided to murder all the Joshis, he again fled to Garhwal. There he instigated the king that it was a good opportunity to invade Kumaun. Jayanand also participated in this battle. When King Mohan Chand wrote to the king of Garhwal to enter into a good and fraternal negotiation he replied that he had fraternal relation with his father Deep Chand. King Mohan Chand had broken all relations. On this side Harshdeo wrote that if he is set free from his imprisonment, then he would help him physically, mentally and financially to make a prince of Garhwal ascend the throne of Kumaun. Being pleased at this king Lalit Shah to dethrone king Mohan Chand sent his commander Prempati Khanduri at the head of an army as an advance party and himself followed him."

King Lalit Shah attacked Dvara via Lohaba. To oppose his army, king Mohan Chand sent his brother prince Lal Singh and setting Harshdeo free instigated him also to fight against his old enemy and also gave him an allurement that by way of prize his former posts and fiefs would be returned to him. Harshdeo in his greed to get release from the confinement apparently agreed to the proposal but as soon as he was preparing to go on expedition a news was received that the Kumaunis have been badly defeated at Bagvalipokhar. Some Kumauni forces also had joined hands with Garh army. On hearing the news of his defeat king Mohan Chand started fleeing away and asked Harshdeo also to flee away. But Harshdeo was not in a hurry to flee away as he himself had secretly

invited the king of Garhwal. After reading the letter, he stayed back and later on avoiding the eyes of the spies posted by king Mohan Chand he fled away and went to meet the king of Garhwal. King Mohan Chand from Gangoli went to Kali Kumaun. From there via Tanakpur he went to the *nawab* of Lucknow. Later on he took shelter with *nawab* Faiz-Ulla Khan of Rampur. There he had met his brother prince Lal Singh and other associates.

90. **(59) King Pradyumn Shah alias Pradyumn Chand**

(1779-1786 A.D.)

King Lalit Shah summoned Harshdeo Joshi at Pali and on his advice appointing his son Pradyumn Shah as the *dharmputra* of King Deep Chand made him ascend the throne of the Chands as king Pradyumn Chand. King Lalit Shah had in addition to Pradyumn Shah, three more sons : 1 prince Jaikrit Shah, 2. prince Parakram Shah and 3. prince Pritam Shah. King Lalit Shah attacked by malaria of Ganai-Givad fell ill and died. Thus prince Jaikrit Shah ascended the throne.

King Pradyumn Chand appointed Harshdeo, Jayanand and Gadadhar Joshi on important posts of the state. The last two belonged to Oliyagaon. King Pradyumn Chand wanted to establish a good and permanent administration but Atkinson writes, "People were fed up with the conspiracies of these Joshis and the national revolutions of day-today. They had no faith that these people would establish permanent, impartial and judicious government."

The state functionaries said that the part of the amount of royal collection was lying with Pt. Madhusudan Pande, a Naulakhiya Pande of Patiya. In the treasury also there was dearth of money. When on demand Madhusudan Pande did not made the payment, then Nagarkotiya soldiers went to Patiya and besieged the house of Madhusudan Pande. At night the soldiers stayed in that very big house which is called 'Chaumahal'. That night the whole house was searched. They brought a few gold muhars and rupees which were deposited in the royal treasury.

It is said that the very night the Nagarkotiya soldiers had been staying in the palace of Naulakhiya Pande, a goblin frightened them. When the soldiers fired, the goblin fled away. It is said that since then for many years, that goblin at night called out from the

danda of Patiya. Hence the Nagarkotiya, left Patiya or are still there." Then whosoever of the village heard his voice he spoke out, 'Nagarkotiyas are still present in Patiya'. The goblin returned at once. He did not torture any body in the village.

When king Lalit Shah died, his eldest son Prince Jaikirti Shah became the king. Being the eldest brother he himself though senior wrote to his younger brother Pradyumn Shah show him due respect and also convey his respects to him through his letters. From here it was replied that Kumaun had never accepted the superiority of Garhwal. He by all means would protect the respect and honour of that superior throne on which he sat. On hearing this hard reply the king of Garhwal was non plussed but was greatly displeased at heart.

In the meantime Harshdeo Joshi wrote to *nawab* Faizulla Khan of Rampur to help dethrone king Mohan Chand by invading Kumaun. *Nawab* did not give a satisfactory reply to it but in continuation with it, he wrote that dethroned king Mohan Chand for his maintenance should get some assistance from the treasury of Chand state. Maintenance was assured from this side but it is not rightly known if king Mohan Chand got the help or not.

Atkinson writes that king Mohan Chand was sanctioned rupees ten per day for maintenance but was not paid. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes that rupees three hundred per month at the rate of rupees ten per day was sent to Rampur.

Once *nawab* Faizulla Khan plundered Kashipur. That time property and cash of the people of Kashipur worth lacs of rupees was looted. At this Pt. Harshdeo decided to wage war but later on a peace was made with the *nawab* of Rampur. From both the sides turbans were exchanged. Since then *nawab* of Rampur never interfered in the matter of Tarai.

91. King Mohan Chand brings Nagas

How could king Mohan Chand who has enjoyed the royal affluence maintain himself on rupees ten per day. He left Rampur and went to Prayagaraj on pilgrimage. There he came into contact with the leader of Naga mendicants. When he did not get help from the *nawabs* of Awadh and Rampur king Mohan Chand begged help from the abbots (*mahants*) and telling them that Kumaun was a rich

region and giving the allurement of the hidden wealth of the Chand kings, his ancestors and narrating the pleasant things about the plunder pursuaded them to go to Kumaun and invade it. The abbots at the head of 1400 Naga forces proceeded towards Kumaun and under the pretext of pilgrimage to Badrinath via the bank of Koshi reached Almora. When they reached Chopada on the confluence of Koshi and Sual they came to know the real secret. At this Harshdeo Joshi stayed the Kumauni forces at a place Chadalekh and going to the abbots asked them to go back taking some presents from him. But owing to the ill advice of the king Mohan Chand instead of withdrawing, they began to fight. How could Naga mendicants stay before the trained army. Seven hundred Nagas were killed in Koshi itself; the rest fled away. Since then there a hearsay started,"

"जोगिक बाबोक् लड़ै में के धरी छ़ी"

(What interest of the father of mendicant is involved is a battle.) Now the hearsay is used in case of such men as leaving their own business interfere in others, work.

Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "The Nagas themselves bore the expenses of the Naga forces, rather they fed and bore other expenses of king Mohan Chand also. This army halted at the bank of river Sual. Harshdeo sent his messenger and conveyed to them that as they had left wordly affairs, why they were participating in mutual encounter and also paid rupees 500/- for *gola puja*. But the Nagas did not agree. Both the forces came to close quarters. After firing, swords were used. Seven hundred Nagas including two abbots were killed. Many of them rolled down the mountain. There was profuse blood-shed. The plunder on that day rendered the villagers of the neighbourhood wealthy. In the matted hair (*jata-juta*) and *golas* many gold *muhars* were found. The *nishan* (symbol) and banners are made of silver. Heaps of swords like logs of wood were looted. There were heaps of shields. King Mohan Chand and the remaining Nagas fled towards plains.

92. Battle with Garhwal

Even after the enthronement of king Pradyumn Shah the mental tension between the kings of Garhwal and Kumaun did not come to an end. The reply sent by king Pradyumn Shah pinched the heart of his elder brother king Jaikirti Shah like a thorn. His

advisers told him that according to the dictates of politics, ethics and convention he being the elder brother, he should have his right over both the kingdoms of Garhwal and Kumaun, rather some people even said that the kingless kingdom of Kumaun has been obtained by you, so the king of Kumaun should be your feudatory. On this point there was correspondence also between him and dethroned king Mohan Chand. Harshdeo Joshi, a wise diplomatic, guessed the future evil consequences of this mastery. He wrote to king Jaikirti Shah to allow him to see him so that the question of right be decided through oral discussion. But king Jaikirti Shah had no faith in the sincerity of Harshdeo and it was correct also, as at one end he was carrying on the correspondence, and on the other, military preparations were also being made. As soon as the king of Garhwal invaded Kumaun and wanted thereby to surprise Harshdeo Joshi, an officer, knowing about it, on the head of a large army stood ready to fight. In fact the army of Kumaun was so large that the king of Garhwal had to flee and he died in the very forest. The other story is that he was murdered by the order of Harshdeo. The Kumaunis were so much pleased at this victory that they sacking all the way reached Srinagar and set fire to a number of villages. They also plundered in the way the sacred temple of Devalgarh. This high handed plunder is even now called *Joshyanan* in Garhwal as violent pillage and a number of murders in Srinagar and in the neighbouring villages were the result of the evil advices of the Joshis.

On Harshdeo's return from the battle, his assistant, Pt. Jayanand Joshi also died. Harshdeo on coming to Almora wanted to make his position strong but owing to his selfish diplomacy the number of enemies around him had tremendously increased. Generally people from all walks of life were against him as they were fed up with his day and night conspiracies, blood encounters, murders and plundering activities.

93. Change of King in Garhwal

In Garhwal on the death of king Jaikirti Shah, his younger brother Parakram Shah wanted to become himself the king but the state arbitrators sent a message to Harshdeo Joshi suggesting that the kingdom of Garhwal should be managed according to the wish of king Pradyumn Chand. It was decided that owing to the

expansion of the kingdom of a king there are no separate kings for different places, but there is only one king. So king Pradyumn Chand should be the king of Kumaun and Garhwal both. This decision was, excluding prince Parakram Shah, liked by all who wanted to become the king. But all his judgements used to be crude (unwise) and worthless. Among his supporters also generally all were of weak policies. Since then this hilly hearsay came into vogue :

"कौलाटा काथ बाँच सुण काला तू,
अनालेले घर मुसो दौड़ा डुना तू।"

Later on king Pradyumn Chand to take possession of his ancestral kingdom of Garhwal and to look after its management went there from Almora. The management of the kingdom of Kumaun remained in the hands of Harshdeo Joshi. King Pradyumn Chand came to Garhwal and ascended his ancestral throne as Pradyumn Shah.

94. **The Conspiracy of Mohan Chand**

There king Mohan Chand again fanned the flame. He brought to his side also *divan* Nand Ram of Kashipur in the south, from the east came king Mohan Chand and his brother prince Lal Singh. From that side prince Parakram Shah also hurridly came along with Garhwal forces. Pradyumn Shah *alias* Pradyumn Chand, king of Garhwal, sided with Harshdeo but his brother Parakram Shah was against him. They all assembled in village Pali of *patti* Trilladora. Harshdeo along with his forces reached Naithanigarhi. Mr. Joshi awaited some more forces but none came to his help, but many fled to other side speaking clearly that they would not fight for such a king as was Garhwali at heart and apparently posed to be a Kumauni and not thinking about the welfare of the throne of Kumaun, wished the welfare of Srinagar. In this encounter Harshdeo was badly defeated and he was compelled to flee towards Badhapur. The poor fellow, Pradyumn Shah also fled to Garhwal. In this way king Pradyumn Shah after ruling for seven years had to vacate the throne of Kumaun. King Mohan Singh pursued Harshdeo with a view to killing him, but could not obtain him.

The following copper plates of the time of king Pradyumn Shah have been found :

1. 1781 A.D. In the name of Pt. Krishnanand Joshi
2. 1782 A.D. In the name of Pt. Beniram Upreti.
3. 1784 A.D. In the name of Pt. Revadhar and Balkrishna.

95. **(60) King Mohan Chand (second time)**
(1786-1788 A.D.)

After passing through various types of climate, roaming uselessly in his own and foreign countries, facing good, bad or indifferent times and requesting friends, bad or good and in the end defeating all his enemies in 1786, king Mohan Chand became all in all in Kumaun. Having pursued Harshdeo in Badhapur and returned via Kashipur king Mohan Chand along with his brother prince Lal Singh entered into the palace of Almora. But the treasury was empty and there was no money to make payment to the forces. King Mohan Chand levied *manga* tax in the kingdom. He captured and harassed the ladies and children of the people of Kali Kumaun. He realised rupees four lacs from the people of Kumaun. Realised money from both the factions of Mahars and Fartyals. Then the members of Mahar faction said to the members of the Fartyal faction that their faction had looted the wealth of the supporters of the Joshis, but they, as the hilly story goes had been ruined :

"चारो खै गयै तीतर चाखुड़ ।
जिबाली पड़ा मुस भ्याकुड़ ।।"

Pt. Harshdeo Joshi, who had fled towards Tarai Bhavar, from there sought help from the king of Garhwal, but there Pradyumn Shah was not on the throne. Neither the Garhwalis were pleased with him nor the Kumauni loved him. To add to this, he had become indifferent towards the affairs of the state, though it is said that sometimes both the brothers, king Parakram Shah and king Pradyumn Chand got united and somethings they kept apart. King Mohan Chand made peace with king Parakram Shah, so that both the kings might rule peacefully in their respective kingdoms. Thus when Harshdeo got no help from any quarter, he at his own initiative collected a good army in Badhpur and attacked Kumaun. There king Mohan Chand was only engaged in plundering and killing. The treasury was empty and the army was clamouring for payment and the king was so much engrossed in lustily pleasures

that he had no information about the arrival of Harshdeo in Sitauli and Railkot via Hawalbag. In the army of Harshdeo there were a few Mughals, a few Thakurs of Badhapur and the rest his Kumauni campanions. There took place a furious battle in between Railkot and Sitauli. For sometimes swords and guns had their day. In this battle Bishan Singh, the eldest son of king Mohan Chand was killed. This perturbed the king and his army took to its heels. King Mohan Chand and prince Lal Singh both were captured. Harshdeo was victorious.

Prince Lal Singh was pardoned and he was set free because Harshdeo and Lal Singh were friends. Once he had also saved the life of Harshdeo. Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes that on account of the release of prince Lal Singh a Nagarkotiya chieftain resigned and went away. Prince Lal Singh taking his nephew prince Mahendra Singh (second son of king Mohan Chand) with him went to Rampur Harshdeo taking king Mohan Chand with him along with his army encamped in Narayantewari temple. There king Mohan Chand was kept imprisoned. Pt. Rudradatt Pant says that later on the advice of the arbitrators Mohan Chand was killed in *samvat* 1845 i.r. 1788 A.D. Francis Hamilton writes, "Harshdeo under the pretext of not killing the king kept him without food and daily beat him till he did not die. The king remained hungry for a number of days and suffered poverty....." Thus, ended the valiant life of king Mohan Chand and with him ended Chand rule in Kumaun as well.

In the time of his second rule king Mohan Chand granted the following fiefs :

1. 1786 A.D. Bageshvar temple.
2. 1787 A.D. Bageshvar temple.
3. 1787 A.D. Bhairav temple, Almora.
4. 1788 A.D. Bageshvar temple.
5. 1788 A.D. Bhairav temple, Almora.
6. 1788 A.D. Raghunath temple, Almora.
7. 1788 A.D. Badrinath temple.
8. 1788 A.D. Pavaneshvar temple, Salam.

Having killed king Mohan Chand Pt. Harshdeo again became all in all in Kumaun. He wrote to Pradyumn Chand *alias* Pradyumn

Shah, king of Garhwal, as the kingdom of Kumaun was his, he should come there and rule but the king remembering the past troubles and being forbidden by king Parakram Shah refused to come to Almora a second time. So the throne of Kumaun remained without a king for a few days. All power lay in the hands of Harshdeo Joshi.

96. (61) King Shiv Singh alias Shiv Chand

(1788 A.D.)

The state of being no king on the throne of Almora did not continue long. Pt. Harshdeo knew well that he himself can rule in the name of a Chand king but instead of his desire could not enthrone himself as he knew that his family could not remain firm on the throne. So he again reached for a scion of Chand dynasty. Prince Shiv Singh, a relation of king Udyot Chand, came across him, so he was nominated as king and named Shiv Chand. In fact he was a puppet and so Pt. Harshdeo himself was the defacto ruler. King Shiv Singh *alias* Shiv Chand was a Rautela of Jamaradi. He was only a nominal king. From the time of king Pradyumn Chand upto the Gorkha conquest the total administration was in the hands of Joshis. So this period is known as *Joshyal.*

97. Victory of Prince Lal Singh

This time Harshdeo could not properly hold up his political position when prince Lal Singh with the help of *nawab* of Rampur again started invading Kumaun., This first battle was fought at Dhugsil of Bhimtal. In it Gadadhar Joshi, the commander of the army of Shiva Chand, king of Almora, was killed and there was stampede in the army. It is said, prince Lal Singh was so pleased at the victory that he chopped off the head of Gadadhar and taking it to Almora hung it from a walnut tree in front of the Ganesh temple at Talla Mahal.

The royal army and Harshdeo fled to Garhwal and prince Lal Singh pursuing the fleeing Joshi leader and the army reached Ulkagarh in Garhwal. Here Pt. Harshdeo gave him a good resistance and after a violent fight compelled prince Lal Singh to seek shelter in village Chukam in Koshi. This happened in *samvat* 1846 i.e. 1789 A.D. In it Muslims in sufficient number were killed. In the meantime another troop of Garhwal arrived. It was sent by prince Parakram Shah, younger brother of king Pradyumn Shah. It

helped prince Lal Singh and he coming back to the battle-field drove Pt. Harshdeo away. Pt. Harshdeo took shelter with king Pradyumn Shah *alias* Pradyumn Chand at Srinagar. King Pradyumn Shah was in favour of Harshdeo but his brother king Parakram Shah was obstinate and did what he liked. He was in favour of seating on the throne an off-spring of king Mohan Chand after accepting a present of rupees one and a half lacs annually from the king of Kumaun. As previously both the brothers differed with each other. When king Pradyumn Shah sheltered the Joshis and at his place Parakram Shah taking a battalion with him reached Almora and realising rupees forty thousand only made prince Mahendra Singh, son of king Mohan Chand, the king and that also when the whole of the kingdom of Kumaun had come under his possession. Had he wished he would have himself become the king.

98. **(62) King Mahendra Chand**

King Shiv Chand could not remain on the throne even for a year. Having been defeated by prince Lal Singh he along with Harshdeo Joshi fled to Garhwal because virtually he had been installed by Harshdeo Joshi himself. Further it is not known where he had gone and how he died. In 1888 prince Mahendra Chand, son of king Mohan Chand, ascended the throne. His uncle prince Lal Singh laid his hands on all the high posts of *divan* and *bakshi*. He started greatly harassing the Joshis. Many of them were banished, some imprisoned and some probably hanged. Their properties were confiscated. King Parakram Shah created such a situation in Garhwal that Harshdeo Joshi had to flee from there. He took shelter with Mirza Menhdi Ali Beg, the *subedar* of Bareilly. When prince Lal Singh came to know about it, apprehending that Harshdeo Joshi might hatch a conspiracy also there, immediately went in 1789 to see the *nawab* of Awadh while he had come on a hunting expedition to Kheda of Chakhata Bhavar lying to the east of Kathgodam and Haldwani, across Gaula. Then he said that the king of Kumaun had ever been a friend of Awadh *darbar* (court) and he also accepted the lordship of the *nawab* in Tarai.

Pt. Rudradatt Pant does not refer to the last incident but he writes, "In the meantime when prince Parakram Shah wanted to alienate king Pradyumn Shah from the state administration, Pradyumn Shah (in lieu of previous obligations) granting to Harshdeo Joshi Paidulasyun Patti in Garhwal as a fief secured him

for his help. On getting this news Parakram Shah decided to capture Harshdeo. From Garhwal Harshdeo went to Bareilly via Badhpur. The *subedar* of Bareilly encouraged and detained him at Bareilly by paying him rupees ten per day and told him that he would help him in the restoration of his rights in Kumaun."

King Mahendra Chand for about two years remained the king of Kumaun. In 1790 Ranbahadur Singh, the king of Nepal, decided to annex Kumaun to his kingdom. There was a correspondence between Harshdeo and Nepal. That very year a red-sealed *firman* addressed to Pt. Harshdeo came from Nepal through *kazi* Jagjit Pande that if he joining the Gorkha army would fight against Kumaun, he would help him to establish his right in Kumaun. In 1790 the Gorkhas occupied Kumaun. The Chands were defeated and they settled down in the regions of Rudrapur in Tarai.

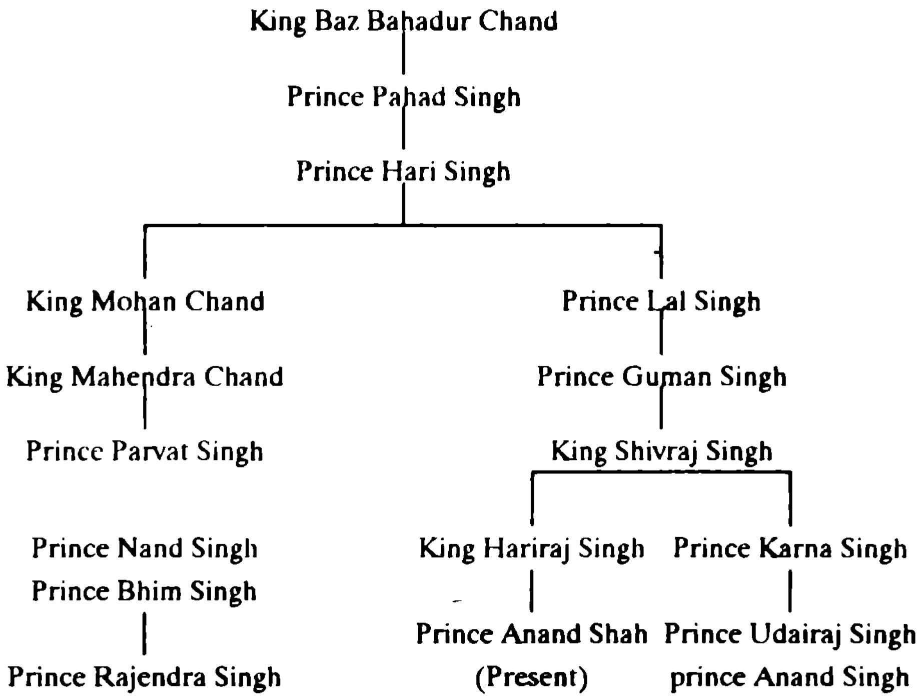
99. **Family of Mohan Chand**

Names of a number of persons belonging to the family of king Mohan Chand have already been mentioned above. It is indispensable to write some thing more about this family. Mr. Batton says regarding prince Mohan Singh *alias* Mohan Chand as the bastard brother of king Deep Chand, but Mr. Frazer in his report of 1814 regards this family to be originated from Pahad Singh, who according to him was the son of the dancing girl of king Baz Bahadur Chánd. He writes, "Prince Pahad Singh's son was prince Hari Singh whose legal son was Mohan Singh alias Mohan Chand. In Rautelas sons born of both the married and the unmarried women of the younger brothers of the Chand family are included. In the hills not the least difference is made between illegal and legal sons. Mr. Frazer again writes, "Pt. Harshdeo Joshi also regards prince Mohan Singh to belong to royal family though he was the son of a prostitute and was illegally born. So according to customs in the hills he will be called Rautela as he was born in a royal family."

In the statement of Mr. Frazer, "There was no difference between a royal and illegal son" is totally wrong. This statement is not correct in respect of the Chands and Rajvars of Askot as Mr. Pannalal also has written in his book entitled '*Kumaun ke Rasmo-Rivaj*' This statement can be true in respect of ordinary Khas clan where even the sons born of unmarried women (*dhanti*) can be

claimaints in the paternal property but this statement is not applicable in respect of pure Rajputs and brahmins of high family.

No other writer regards them as bastard. I have seen three four genealogies. When the king of Kashipur protested against the statements of the gazetteers and threatened to file defamation suit, this mistake was rectified. The genealogy is as under-



100. Taxation Policy of the Chands

Atkinson writes, "During the times of the Chands the owner of the land was called *thatvan*, that means land. *Khaykar* and *sirtan* words are also of the Chands. *Khaykar* means one who lives on farming and also pays revenue. *Khaykar* paid in grains and cash both. *Sirtan* was the person who used to pay in cash. *Kainis* were the slaves who used to work in farms and *chhyodas* also were equal to purchased slaves. During the time of the Chand kings there were 36 types of *thatvans*. Among them the following were the main taxes :

1. *Jyuliya* or Jhuliya—which was collected on swings or bridges of the rivers.
2. *Sirati*—which was paid in cash.
3. *Baikar*—grain which was deposited in the royal court.

4. *Rakhiya*—which was collected on the occasion of *Rakshabandan.*
5. *Kut*—grain which was collected in lieu of cash.
6. *Bhent*—the *nazarana* (gift) that was given to kings and princes.
7. *Ghodiyalo*—for king's horses.
8. *Kukuryalo*—for king's dogs.
9. *Bajdar*—for money—lenders.
10. *Bajaniya*—for male and female dancers.
11. *Bhukadiya*—for horse-keeper (*sais*)
12. *Manga*—whenever king demands money in times of need.
13. *Sahu*—for accountants
14. *Rantgali*—for officers
15. *Kheni kapini*—*Kuli begar*
16. *Katak*—for the forces
17. *Syuk*—the *nazrana* which was given to the king at a fixed time
18. *Kaminchari, Sayanchari*—for the officials such as *kamin* and *sayane*
19. *Garalja nege*—for *patwari* and *kanungo*

The *thatvan* could not be able to do away with his *that* and he was responsible for the revenue of that place, though the land may be cultivated by any one else. The rules regarding the collection of revenue or of taxes were very strict. Exemptions from taxes were rare. Land revenue was exempted only during famines. *Thatvan* could allow any one to cultivate his land. They would become the *khaykars* of the *thatvan* and were bounded to pay royal taxes namely *sirati* and *juliya.* Mostly *thatvans* were Khas rajputs. The people belonging to the higher caste were called *garkha.* The *kainis* and *chhyodas* were also found among them. *Thatvan* also could be reduced to *kaini* when the king : (*i*) donated the land to a brahmin after *sankalp* or (*ii*) donated the dependents in *raut* who were killed in battles or (*iii*) gave to his courtiers or any one else in *jagir.*

The king could do anything according to his sweet will as he was the owner of the land. *Thatvan* becomes *kaini* of the *jagirdar.*

If *thatvan* wanted to give away his *that,* then in that case he used to bring some quantity of soil or a piece of stone containing a

paisa therein to be handed over to the king in his court with the request to do away with his *that*. No *thatvan* could be forced to become a *kaini*. If at all he accepted to become a *kaini* then he automatically would come down from the post of *garkha* and no body wanted to have any type of social relations with him. If the *thatvan* gave away his land then again he would be recognised as the *garkha*. The *thatvan* mostly belonged to the Khas people. The people who were in the possession of *raut* and *jagir* were recognised as *raut* and *zamindar*, though they took their land as *that* during litigation. The brahmins were not *khaykar* and *sirtan*.

During the period of the Chand king *khaykars* were not *maurusi* and they could be expelled and their children also could not be able to receive *khaykari* without the consent of *thatvan* and the land owner. The taxes were paid in kind. Everything used to be without anything in writing. Sometimes *khaykar* was bound to 'render his private services to the *thatvan*. Khaykar was responsible only for the price which he used to receive for his seeds but in fact at that time strifes were few. *Sirtan* usually paid the money and was not bound to pay any tax.

Kaini was bound to do some menial works, such as clearing utensils, carrying *dandi*, washing clothes, fetching woods at the time of death etc. and also had to shave the heads of the persons on demise of *thatvan* and king. He was bound to obey each and every order of the *thatvan*. *Kaini* did not take left food (*jutha*) but *chhyoda* used to eat it. *Kaini* could be punished with the royal punishment if he did not perform his duties. *Kaini* could be sold by *thatvan* but not without the land. But the *thatvan* could surrender the *chhyoda* to any one whenever he liked so, *kaini* could also surrender his rights and duties to any one else.

Sayana, budha and thokdar

Between land-cultivators and the king there existed at places some other officials also who had right on land. In Pali they were known as *sayana*. In Pali there were four *sayanas*—two Manrals, one Bisht and one Bangari. In Kali Kumaun, Johar and Darma they were known as *budhas*. In Kali Kumaun they were also four : 1. Tadagi, 2. Karki, 3. Bora and 4. Chaudhari. But due to the two factions of the Fartyals, eight Mahars came into existence instead of four. Here their *alas* were fixed. The *patti* four *ala* also means that it

belongs to the four factions namely 1. Tadagi *ala* (2) Karki *ala* (3) Bora *ala* and (4) Chaudhari *ala*. Now in Johar and Darma most of the people belong to the category of the *budhas*, but previously only one *budha* was found to be there. At other places the *budhas* and the *sayanas* were known as *thokdars*. These officials had also some duties and rights. One post belonged to *kamin* also but he had to pay the gift, *begar* and *bardayash* to the king. He used to receive the salary, but he had no right in the village. *Sayanas*, *budhas* and *thokdars* could also sell out the villages. *Sayanas* of the Manral caste were eligible to have *nakkaras* and symbols. Later on king Bazbahadur Chand gave this right to *budhas* of Johar and Darma also. *Sayanas* were eligible to have their meals in *that* of village for themselves and for colleagues whenever they paid a visit to the village. After every second year one rupee was paid to every *sayana* as fee. In festivals he took things for this household affairs. In the crops the grains were fixed and tax had to be paid just like that of *manga* tax of the king which was known as *dala*, but the quantity of this *dala* was fixed by the special order of the king. The people were also bound to render him personal services in his area. *Sayanas* were responsible for depositing the collected taxes in the royal treasury. The *budhas* of Kali Kumaun had equal rights as those of the *sayanas*, but *budhas* belonging to this area were also consulted in the royal functions. Due to this fact their position was much stronger than that of *sayanas*. Therefore, in the history of Kumaun, Mahars and Fartyals had played an important role. In Johar and Darma the *budhas* had no privileges as they were not involved in the management of the state. *Thokdar* was somewhat less respected as compared to *sayanas* and *budhas*. He was not entitled to have his drum, *nakkara* and symbol and he was not also consulted the state administration. But these three types of officials were bound to help in military and home affairs.

Padhan

There was a *padhan* in every village who was below the ranks of the above three. His duties even now are the same as they were found earlier. He used to collect land revenue. He also discharged the functions of police in the village. He had to remain under the subjugation of *sayana* who was born in his own village. This post was *maurusi*.

Kotal and pahari

There was *kotal* under *padhan* who could be maintained or expelled by *padhan*. He used to work as a clerk and an assistant of *padhan*. Besides these two officials there was *pahari* (security guard) in every village who usually used to work as the peon of the village. He used to manage the postal affairs of the village. Besides collection of the grains, the patrolling of the village etc. were also his duties. He mostly belonged to the *shudra* community. He used to receive some grains as the *dastur* during festivals.

The above description is a good example of the county administration of the Chand kings.

Kurmanchal had been independent till the arrival of the English and the Gorkhalis and how a small mountain kingdom carried on its administration, is praiseworthy. Those days meagre facilities existed for supervision around and there was not such a prevalence of learning that experts of *sampatti-shastra* might have been in the state administration, yet the words in which the generous writer Mr. Atkinson has praised their administration I am quoting here verbatim, "I can therefore thoroughly put this account forward as a unique record of the civil administration of a Hill state untainted almost by any foreign admixture, for until the Gorkhali Conquest and subsequently the British occupation Kumaun was always independent."

Mr. Traill throws light on the Chands in this way, "During the rule of the Chands, the owner of land (unlike the policy of the British and the Gorkhas) was the king. The income of Garhwali and Kumauni kings was not limited solely to the land revenue, but the taxes were imposed for trade, mining, judicial system, forest wealth and court proceedings. A tax namely *ghee* tax was also realised. Besides four *annas* per year was realised on each buffalo per year. Weavers (*kolis*) had also to pay tax. Land revenue was light. In *uparaun* one-third portion was realised as land revenue and in *talaun* it was fifty per cent. On mines also the share of the king was half. The realisation was made in two ways. In one year land revenue was realised and in another money was realised from men. In Tarai Bhavar a tax known as *gai-charai* (cow-grazing) was also prevalent. *Sirati* tax (taxation on tenant) was also light. But for the expenditure on administration other taxes specially *mau* tax

(individual tax) and house tax were in existence. All these taxes were named *chhattis rakam* (36 land revenue) and *battis kalam* (32 record). There were 68 taxes in appearance but they were not so many. These were a kind of arrears. In some places one third and at others two fifth of the total production was realised as *koot*. Mostly rice was realised. The maximum *koot* in one *pargana*, on a *bisi* land (which is twenty yards less in one acre) 12 *pidai* or four and a half maunds wheat was produced. In the same way in a *bisi* land twenty six manuds of rice and ten manuds or wheat were produced. The *khaykar* had to pay offerings besides this *koot*. *Kaini* (landless labourer) had to produce on the land at river bed on behalf of the proprietor and also to take his baggage. On *pahi* cultivation lands the amount of revenue was different. In densely populated villages the rate of revenue was less and in places where the land was not so good, ordinary *sirati* was realised.

The Chands offered much land in *gunth*. In those days the way of pleasing both the subjects and the god was to erect temples and dedicate lands for them. If the priest of the temple was religious minded he created an examplary atmosphere of education, good company and religious discourses; otherwise in the case of these institutions falling in the hands of cunning and fraudulent and selfish people these institutions became the dens of debauchery and ill behaviour as is seen in the present days. One fifth portion of Kumauni's produce and fertile land is offered in the form of *gunths*. "A few *mahanths* and heads of *mathas* enjoy while the population starves." Francis Hamilton in his writings has written whatever about Nepal we are quoting here, "Mr Right says that whatever facts were known to him about Kumaun were narrated to him by Pratinidhi Tewari and Kanaknidhi Tewari. These two brothers had migrated from Kumaun to Nepal. They were great scholars. Their ancestor Jaideo Tripathi also had come to Kali Kumaun with king Som Chand and had acted as minister there. Both the brothers were scholars. Mr. Right met Pt. Hariballabh Pande also at Fatehgarh who wrote a book under the pseudonym *Kamal Lochan* in which there was narration of western Nepal. He was also a great scholar and was employed with the Garhwali kings. The said Hariballabh states the beginning of the geneology of the Chand kings with Thor Chand. When the first Chand kings established their kingdom in Champavat their annual income was three thousand per year. At

that time he used to pay levy to the king of Karbinpur (which was also called Kartikeypur). When Kalyan Chand received the area of Sor by marrying the daughter of Doti king, twenty princes fought for the Karbirpur kingdom. They asked Rudra Chand to give a judgment by making him a *panch*. Rudra Chand himself annexed the kingdom by declaring all of them *kamina* (fake claimants)".

"During the reign of Chands there were one thousand houses in Almora. If ten persons are counted per house, the population was ten thousand. If a house or family is taken to consist of five members the population comes to five thousand inhabitants."

"There were two-three hundred houses in Champavati and Kurmanchal (i.e. Kali Kumaun). The big towns were at Gangoli and Pali where there were more than one hundred houses. The population of Kumaun was stated to be five thousand families. If a family constituted of ten members, the population of Kumaun during the reign of Chand kings would be five lacs and if a family were calculated to be of five members, then the population of Kurmachal kingdom would come to two and a half lacs."

"All the brahmins lived with purity and cleanliness. They had restrictions on food and drinks and marriages. The *ahir*, *jat*, *lodhi*, *chauhan* and other peasant castes were graded in the lower degree. In the hills there were mines of copper, lead and iron. Gold was extracted from the Panar river but in very less quantity. The income of the Kurmachal kingdom was one lac twentyfive thousand. This income was in addition to the *jagirs* of the brahmins. The government was good in all respects. The subjects were happy. The members of the Garhwal king Ajaypal used to pay levy to Karbirpur kingdom.

From the above description other things appear to be correct but the Chand family originated from Thor Chand is not correct. Chand family originated from king Som Chand is as correct as the existence of night after day.

The cash income has been noted as Rs.125000/- In the light of those days if we say it to be 12 lacs 25 thousands it will not be wrong. Again in addition to cash a part of the product of the land in the form of *koot* was also realised *i.e.* grains and other things were also realised along with cash. The Chand kings had a good income.

They were quite wealthy. But the bloody encounters, loots and plunders of its last days made the treasury empty, otherwise the rule of the Chands was powerful and prosperous.

101. **Party system government of the Chands**

It is said that ordinarily Indians are the devotees of the king. They regard the king as the incarnation of Vishnu. Though even in India references have been made of republics yet mostly people were supporters of kingship. Like this though the rule of Chands seen hurriedly is said to be monarchical yet if looked minutely it can be said that Som Chand was to lay the foundation of party system government from the very beginning. He formed Mahar and Fartyal factions and handed over the reins of the government in the hands of the leaders of that faction which was more powerful and thus gave importance to party system government. When seen a bit more seriously it is clear that the government of the Chands was virtually party system government.

King Som Chand began his rule with the establishment of four *budhas*. These four *budhas* belong to four parties—(i) Karki, (ii) Baura, (iii) Chaudhari and (iv) Tadagi. Above them were two *mandals*: Malla Mandal and Talla Mandal.

In Vishung then there lived five factions—Mahar, Fartyal, Dev, Dhek and Karayat. All these five factions were powerful. When the above mentioned four *budhas* tried to levy taxes and impose party rule over these five factions they rebelled. They chopped off the heads of those four *budhas* and throwing them in a ditch built terrace over it which even now is called Budhachaura. One of them a headless *budha* had gone some distance and that place since the day is called Mundakata.

To supress this rebellion the king asked those five factions to select two *budhas* from among them as arbitrators and their advice will be taken in the administration of the state. They selected two persons each from two factions—one from Mahar and one from Fartyal. They were regarded as senior arbitrators and made *budhas*. They were also given turbans and they were also honoured like the above mentioned four *budhas*. They also got rights in the administration of the state. Seeing their superiority the remaining three parties—(i) Air, (ii) Dev, (iii) Karayat—became jealous. They said among themselves that all the five parties were equal. Now

these two groups getting turbans have become honourable and they have remained precisely the same. The leaders of both the parties — Mahar and Fartyal—were statesmen. Fartyal, gave one of its members to Mahar and Mahar gave its one member to Fartyal. Thus the member of five factions got mutually divided into two parties.

This system spread all over Kurmanchal. It is said that administration was carried on the advice of these five factions. The place, where their meetings were held is called Bazakhal. Presently there exists the school established by Karn Karayat. In the *panchayat* all the five factions equally contributed their shares. At present also this very system exists. The *dhad* by the mutual arrival of one Mahar and one Fartyal was nick named *Tethari.* Even now when the *panchayat* sits, five rupees are realised from the five factions and six rupees from *Tethari* after the name of that *dhad.*

Thakur Jaman Singh Dhek of Vishung told us this interesting story about the origin of Mahar and Fartyal factions, "Two *kshatriya* warriors from the plains came to Kali Kumaun. Then the king was in the fort of Kutaulgarh. His queen was pregnant. The child stayed in the womb beyond the limit. The queen began to feel pain. When the king asked the *pandits* they told him that it was the adverse effect of snake of *mauja* Bheta which lived under a big slab of stone. The *pandits* said that when the serpent is killed then the offspring of the king will be born. The king enquired in the royal court as to who was such a brave man who would by killing the serpent fulfil the task of the king. The two *kshatriya* brothers who had come from the plains heard this challenges of the king. They asked what reward they would get if they performed this task. The king said that on killing the serpent they would get a post in the kingdom. Then the elder brother broke the slab with the stroke of his club. A saying also goes that by breaking *fatakshila* he earned the name Fartyal. The second brother killed the serpent with a dagger. It is possible that by repeatedly shouting, "I killed the serpent" he came to be called Mara or Mahar. Thus the two factions originated from two well known persons Mahar and Fartyal which are till today quite popular. Some people say that later on there occurred baseless quarrel between these two brothers. Fartyal said that had he not broken the rock how could the serpent have been killed. Mahar said had he not cut it into pieces by his dagger how could the serpent die

rather it would have bitten Fartyal. As the result of this baseless controversy, the two brothers formed two parties which existed before the arrival of king Som Chand. He subdued these two parties and made them his subservient. The details of the factions of Mahar and Fartyal are as follows :

Mahar Faction

In *patti* Vishung in the Mahar faction — Kot Mahar, Rauteli Mahar, Bunga Mahar, Kandadeo Mahar.

These are in the party of Fartyal Mahar — (i) Ratan Fartyal, (ii) Budachaura Fartyal, (iii) Jassu Fartyal

Deo : formerly equally divided between both the factions — half in Mahar and half in Fartyal. But now there is none in the Mahar Party. Dhek — Dhek Air and Malla Dhek were from before in the party of Mahar and now also are in it. Medi Banela formerly were in the party of Fartyal. Owing to mutual rivalry between brothers Medi Dhek with the help of Air Malla Dhek are in Mahar party. Karayat — They have two villages — (i) Tank Karayat, (2) Karn Karayat. Formerly divided in to two equal parties, now both are in Mahara group.

Fartyal faction

Fartyal faction consists of — Thuva Mahara, Talla Malla Dungari, Chamoli, Medi, Shivadas, Padi Fartyal alias Saunru. Formerly half of the Devas were in Fartyal party now all are one. So Dheks were equally divided between two parties, but now they all are in Fartyal party.

From the description of the groupism of Mahar and Fartyal it will be crystal clear that Mahar and Fartyal were not such factions as admitted no exchange between them. Fartyal went out to Mahra party and Mahar to Fartyal. Sometimes they changed their party under influence or pressure or owing to change of opinion, which often even now happens in political parties.

In addition to the above factions the people of Kali Kumaun are also called by the following names :

(1) Char Budha—(i) Karki, (ii) Baura, (iii) Tadagi, (iv) Chaudhari.

(2) Panch Thok—(i) Mahar, (ii) Fartyal, (iii) Dev, (iv) Dhek, (v) Karayat.

(3) Char Chauthani—(i) Devaliya, (ii) Simalti or Pande, (iii) Tewari of Vinda, (iv) Bisht of Dadya.

Some include Mandaliya Pandes and Sainjyal Bishts also in Chauthaniya and some do not.

(4) Chhah Gauri or Ghariya—Probably this might have been used for Shatakuli Brahmins and under them might also be included Pant, Pande, Jha, Joshi, Tewari, Bhatt, Pathak, etc who came later on, though some include them in Char Chauthanis.

(5) Barah Adhikari—(i) Ladaval, (ii) Baidaval, (iii) Khatedi, (iv) Mahata, (v) Dhami, (vi) Mauni, (vii) Lad, (viii) Mval etc.

(6) Pachbidiya—Except Char Chauthani and Chaah Ghariya or Shatkuli brahmins all other brahmins are called Pachbidiya.

(7) Khatiman Brahmin— Low brahmins are called by this name. In Doti they are also called Khatkhvala.

(8) Pauri Pandra Vishva— The *shudras* are called by this name. They also were summoned in *panchayats*.

The Chand kings summoned the leaders of all these factions and consulted them in matters of the state; later all the people were divided into two factions—Mahar and Fartyal. All other factions merged into those major factions. But the above mentioned were the subfactions of these major factions.

It is not possible to say if the entire structure of the party government was complete in the time of king Som Chand, which later on stage by stage went on progressing. It being the matter of 1200-1300 years back, it is difficult to say exactly about it.

When compared with the present democratic system of government it looks incomplete as the leaders of the above eight or nine factions were hardly little courageous. The man who was the

most powerful, wealthy, learned or forceful in the party was respected and became the leader. Then meritorious persons were respected. As at present each and every man could not become a self-appointed leader. Persons were respected not by flattery, back biting or treason but by patriotism, bravery or performance of any other honourable work.

So the Chand kings summoned to their court such leaders as were honoured, learned and beloved of the people and consulted them in the matter of the state and carried on the administration according to the advice of the party which was in majority or was powerful, but the reins of the government were entrusted to (unanimous) leader, who was respected by all.

This system was not less respectable than any other system of government specially which we see in the present democratic system of government where there is much scope for duplicity, hypocrisy, bribe and deceit. Till the Chand kings administered their kingdom according to the advice of Mahar, Fartyal and other factions it prospered more and more. But later on when the libidinous kings specially *divans* and ministers covetous of the right to the kingdom began to indulge in anti-people and socially unholy, anti-religion and anti-national works and setting aside farsightedness, made selfishness their objective, the Chand kingdom of about 1000 years standing — which we shall not hesitate to designate as a small but ideal state — was smashed like a house of cards by the Gorkhas in a single encounter and after 25 years easily came into the possession of the English. Nepal and Garhwal could save independent and semi-independent states for themselves but the kingdom of Kumaun, the most enlightened and most cultured of all, on account of its mutual quarrels and selfish policy, had became so out-worn that it could not stand even a single onslaught of the Gorkhas.

Till the empire is managed and ruled by the good advice of respected and noble men of other society, all people take interest in it. They are ready to live and die for it but when certain selfish people giving priority to self-aggrandizement perform every thing, even high empires get annihilated, what to say of a small state like Kumaun. The copper-plate issued in the time of the Chand kings was signed by all the officers, which indicates the sense of responsibility of the officers.

When compared with the extensive empires of today the kingdom of Kumaun stands equal to even a drop in relation to the sea but when we see how a handful of brahmins, kshatriyas, and vaishyas coming from Jhunsi, Jhansi, Kannauj and other places and getting only 15 *bighas* of land in donation laid the foundation of such a big kingdom of Kurmachal and uniting all carried on the administration in such a good manner, it is not a matter of less pride for our forefathers when we at present are unable to properly manage even a small *sabha* or institution.